

THE  
**Council of Trent**

EXAMIN'D and DISPROV'D

BY

**Catholick Tradition.**

In the main Points in Controversie be-  
tween Us and the *Church of Rome*;

WITH

A Particular Account of the Times and Oc-  
casions of introducing them;

PART I.

To which a PREFACE is prefixed con-  
cerning the true Sense of the Council of *Trent* and  
the Notion of *Transubstantiation*.

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The Second Edition Corrected.

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WITH

An APPENDIX in Answer to some late Passages  
of *J. W.* of the Society of Jesus, Concerning the  
Prohibiting of *Scripture* in Vulgar Languages.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *H. Mortlock* at the *Phoenix* in *S. Pauls* Church-yard, 1688.

By Edward Stillingfleet, D.D.  
By Dean of St. Pauls.  
[For other works of his, see p. 148.]

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# THE PREFACE.

**T** *Here is it seems a Train in Controversies, as well as in Thoughts; one thing still giving a start to another; Conferences produce Letters; Letters, Books; and one Discourse gives Occasion for another. For this follows the former as a necessary Pursuit of the same Argument against Tradition.*

*I. S. in his last Letter, had vouched the Authority of the Council of Trent proceeding upon Tradition, and he instanced in three Points, Transubstantiation, Sacramental Confession and Extreme Unction. The Examination of this I thought fit to reserve for a Discourse by it self; wherein, instead of confining my Self to those three Particulars, I intend to go through the most material Points there established, and to prove from the most Authentick Testimonies, that there was no true Catholick Tradition for any of them. And if I can make good what I have undertaken, I shall make the Council of Trent it Self the great Instance against the Infallibility of Tradition.*

Third Letter  
P. 64.

*This is a new Undertaking; which the impetuosity of our Adversaries setting up Tradition for the Ground of their Faith; hath brought me to. But besides the shewing that really they have not Tradition on their side; I have endeavoured to trace the several steps and to set down the Times and Occasions of Introducing those Points which have*

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*have caused that unhappy breach in the Christian world, whose sad effects we daily see and lament, But have little hopes to see remedied, till these new Points be discarded and Scripture interpreted by truly Catholick Tradition, be made the Standard of Christian Communion.*

*I do not pretend, that all these Points came in at one Time or in the same Manner; for some Errours and Corruptions came in far more early; some had the favour of the Church of Rome in a higher degree; some were more generally received in the Practice of the Church in later times, than others; and some were merely School Points before the Council of Trent, but as far as the Thomists and Scotists could be made to agree there against the Reformers, these passed for Articles of Faith. For, this was one of the great Arts of that Council to draw up their Decrees in such Terms, as should leave Room enough for Eternal Wranglings among themselves, provided they agreed in doing the business effectually against the Hereticks, as they are pleased to call them. I therefore forbear to urge these as Points of Faith, which have been freely debated among themselves since the Council of Trent, without any Censure. We have enough in the plain Decrees and Canons of that Council, without meddling with any School-Points. And so I cannot be charged with Misrepresenting.*

*The great Debate of late hath been about the true Exposition of the Points there defined; and for my part, I am content to yield to any just and reasonable Methods of giving the true sense of them. And such I conceive these to be,*

*I. Where the Council of Trent makes use of Words in a strict and limited Sense, there it is unreasonable to understand them in a large and improper Sense. As for instance, Sess. 6. c. 26. It decrees that Justified Persons  
do*

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*do verè promerere; truly merit Eternal Life; and Can. 32. there is an Anathema against him who denies true Merit in the good Works of justified Persons, both as to Increase of Grace and Eternal Life. There is no one conversant in Ancient Writers, but knows that there was a large and improper Sense of the Word Merit; but how is it impossible to apply that Sense, where such Care is taken, that it may be understood in a strict and limited Sense? If the Council had left the Word in its General Sense, there might have been Reason to have given the fairest Interpretation to it; but when it is certainly known, that there had been a difference of Opinions in the Church of Rome about true and proper Merit, and that which was not (however it were called,) and the Council declares for the former, no man of understanding can believe that only the improper Sense was meant by it. As in the Point of the Eucharist when the Council declares that the words of Christ, This is my Body, are truly and properly to be understood; Would it not be thought strange for any one to say, that the Council notwithstanding might mean that Christ's Words may be figuratively understood? And we must take the true notion of Merit not from any large expressions of the Ancients, but from the Conditions of true and proper Merit among themselves. But of this at large afterwards. So as to the Notion of Sacraments; every one knows how largely that Word was taken in Ancient Writers; but it would be absurd to understand the Council of Trent in that Sense, when Sess. 6. Can. 1. De Sacramentis, it denounces an Anathema not merely against him that denies seven Sacraments; but against him that doth not hold every one of them to be truly and properly a Sacrament. And in the Creed of Pius IV. one Article is, that there are seven true and proper Sacraments. How vain a thing then were it for any*

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*to Expound the Sacraments in a large and improper Sense?*

Catechism  
Rom. Part 2.

II. *Where the Council of Trent hath not declared it self, but it is fully done in the Catechism made by its Appointment, we ought to look on that, as the true Sense of the Council. As in the Case of the Sacraments; the Council never declares what it means by true and proper Sacraments; but the Catechism makes large and full amends for this Defect. For after it hath mention'd the use of the Word in Profane and Sacred Writers, it sets down the Sense of it according to their Divines for a sensible sign which conveys the Grace which it signifies. And after a large Explication of the Nature of Signs, it gives this Description of a true and proper Sacrament, that it is a sensible thing, which by Divine Institution not only hath the force of signifying but of causing Grace. And to shew the Authority of this Catechism for explicating the Doctrine of the Sacraments we need only to look into Sess. 24. c. 7. de Reform. where it is required that the People be instructed in the Sacraments according to fit. It is supposed that the Catechism was appointed to be made in the 18th Session at the Instigation of Carolus Borromæus, (since Canonized) but it was not finished while the Council sate, and therefore Sess. 25. it was refer'd to the Judgment and Authority of the Pope. I confess therefore it hath not a Conciliar Authority stamped upon it, but it hath a sort of transfused Infallibility, as far as they could convey it; and as much as a Council hath, when it borrows it from the Popes Confirmation. It was near two Tears hammering at Trent, viz. from 26. of Feb. 1562. to Decemb. 1563. when the Council rose; Afterwards, it was preparing at Rome three Tears longer, and then presented to the Pope to be approved, and published by his Authority, after it had been carefully*

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*carefully review'd by Cardinal Sirlet, Borromeo, and others; and hath since been universally received in the Roman Church; so that we can have no more Authentick Exposition of the Sense of the Council of Trent, than what is contained in that Catechism.*

III. *Where the Council of Trent declares a thing in general to be lawfull and due, but doth not express the manner of it, that is to be understood from the generally receiv'd and allowed Practices at that time. For, otherwise the Council must be charged with great unfaithfulness in not setting down and correcting publick and notorious Abuses, when it mention'd the things themselves and some Abuses about them. As in the 25th Session, concerning Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Worship of Images and Relicks, it goes no farther than that the sound Doctrine be taught, that Saints are to be Invoked, Images and Relicks to be Worship'd; but never defines what that sound Doctrine is, what bounds are to be set in the Worship of Saints, Images and Relicks, which it is unlawfull to exceed. So that in this Case, we have no other way to judge of the Meaning of the Council, but by comparing the Publick and Allow'd Practices of the Church with the General Decrees of the Council. And we have this farther Reason for it, that we are told by the latest Expositors of it, that the Sense of the Church in speculative Points, is to be taken from Publick Practices. For, thus one of them expresses himself, Moreover, even her Speculative Doctrines are so mixed with Practical Ceremonies, which represent them to the Vulgar, and instruct even the meanest Capacities in the abstrusest Doctrines, that it seems ever impossible to make an alteration in her Doctrine without abrogating her Ceremonies, or changing her constant Practices.*

Reply to the  
Defence of  
the Exposition,  
&c.  
P. 134.

(b)

IV. *Where*

Sess. 13.  
Can. 2.

IV. *Where the Decrees of the Council, are not sufficiently clear, there we must take in the Canons to make the Sense more plain. This Rule I take from the Council it self, which in the 6th Session, just before the Canons saith, that those are added, that all may know not only what they are to hold and follow, but what they are to shun and avoid. As in the famous Instance of Transubstantiation; suppose, that the Words of the Decree do not determine expressly the Modus; yet it is impossible for any one to doubt of it who looks into the Canon, which denounces an Anathema against him, not only that denies Transubstantiation, but that asserts the substance of Bread and Wine to remain after Consecration. Therefore he that asserts Transubstantiation according to the Council of Trent, must hold it in such a manner, as thereby to understand that the Substance of Bread and Wine doth not remain. Otherwise he is under an Anathema by the express Canon of the Council.*

*Therefore it is so far from being a fatal Oversight, (as a late Author expresses it,) to say that the Council of Trent hath determin'd the Modus of the Real Presence, that no man who is not resolved to oversee it can be of another Opinion. And herein the Divines of the Church of Rome do agree with us, viz. that the particular Modus is not only determin'd by the Council, but that it is a Matter of Faith to all Persons of the Communion of that Church. As not only appears from the 2d Canon, but from the very Decree it self, Sess. 13. ch. 4.*

The holy Synod declares, that by Consecration of the Bread and Wine, there is a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the Substance of the Body of Christ, and of the whole Substance of the Wine into the Substance of his Blood, which Conversion is fitly and



and properly by the holy Catholick Church called Transubstantiation. *In which Words the Council doth plainly express the Modus of the Real Presence to be, not by a Presence of Christ's Body together with the Substance of the Bread, as the Lutherans held, but by a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the Substance of the Body, &c. And since there were different Manners of understanding this Real Presence, if the Council did not Esponse one so, as to reject the other as Heretical; then it is impossible to make the Lutheran Doctrine to be declared to be Heretical, i. e. unless the Council did determine the Modus of the Real Presence. For, if it did not, then notwithstanding the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent, Persons are at liberty to believe either Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation, which I think no Roman Catholick will allow.*

*But it is said, that the meaning of the Decree is, that the Real Presence is not to be understood after a Natural, but a Sacramental Manner; But doth it not plainly tell us, how that Sacramental Manner is to be understood, viz. by a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the whole Substance of the Body, &c. And if other ways be possible, and all others be rejected, then this particular Modus must be determin'd.*

*I grant, that the Council doth not say, there is an Annihilation of the Elements; and I know no Necessity of using that Term, for that which is supposed to be turned into another thing cannot properly be said to be Annihilated (which is the reducing it to nothing) but the Council doth assert a Total Conversion of one Substance into another, and where that is, that Substance must wholly cease to be what it was; and so, there can be no Substance of the Elements remaining after Consecration. For, as Aquinas observes, Quod convertitur in aliquid factâ Conversione*

3 Q. 75. A. 2. non manet. *If then the Substance of the Elements doth not remain after Consecration, by virtue of this total Conversion, then the Council of Trent by its Decree hath plainly determin'd the Modus of the Real Presence, so as to exclude any such Manner, as doth suppose, the Substance to remain, whether it be by Impanation or Consubstantiation, or any other way.*

*What if Rupertus thought the Bread might become the Real Body of Christ by an Union of the Word to it? All that can be infer'd is, that the Modus was not then so determin'd, as to oblige all Persons to hold it. But what is this to the Council of Trent? Can any one hold the Substance to remain, and not to remain at the same time? For, he that holds with Rupertus must allow the Substance to remain; he that believes a total Conversion must deny it. And he that can believe both these at once, may believe what he pleases.*

But the Council only declares the Sacramental Presence to be after an ineffable manner. *I say, it determines it to be by a total Conversion of one Substance into another; which may well be said to be ineffable, since what cannot be understood can never be expressed.*

*Our Dispute is not about the use of the Word, Transubstantiation, for I think it proper enough to express the Sense of the Council of Trent; but as the Word Consubstantial did exclude all other Modes how Christ might be the Son of God, and determin'd the Faith of the Church to that Manner; so doth the Sense of Transubstantiation, as determin'd by the Council of Trent, limit the Manner of the Real Presence, to such a Conversion of the Substance of the Elements into the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood, as doth imply no Substance to remain after Consecration.*



*It is to no purpose to tell us, the Council uses only the Word Species and not Accidents; for whatever they are called, the Council denounces its Anathema against those who hold the Substance to remain after Consecration; and denies the Total Conversion of the Substance of the Bread and Wine into the Substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ. If the Substance be not there, the Modus is to purpose determin'd. And whatever remains, call it what you will, it is not the Substance; and that is sufficient to shew, that the Council of Trent hath clearly determin'd the Modus of the Real Presence.*

*V. We must distinguish the School Points left undetermin'd by the Council of Trent, from those which are made Articles of Faith. We never pretend, that it left no School-Disputes about the Points there determin'd; but we say it went too far in making some School-Points to be Points of Faith, when it had been more for the Peace of Christendom to have left them to the Schools still. Thus in the Point of Transubstantiation, the elder School-men tell us, there were different Ways of explaining the Real Presence; And that those, which supposed the substance to remain, were more agreeable to Reason and Scripture than the other; and some were of Opinion, that the Modus was no matter of Faith then. But after the Point of the Real Presence came to be warmly contested in the time of Berengarius, it rose by degrees higher and higher, till at last the particular Modus came to be determin'd with an Anathema by the Council of Trent.*

*When Berengarius, A. D. 1059. was forced to Recant by Nicolaus 2d, with the Assistance of 113. Bishops; no more was required of him, than to hold that the Bread and Wine after Consecration; are not only the Sacrament, but the true Body and Bloud of Christ, and that*  
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it is sensibly handled and broke by the Priests hands, and eaten by the Communicants. *Here is no denying the Substance of Bread to remain ; and Joh. Parisiensis observes, that the words cannot be defended but by an Assumption of the Bread ; for, saith he, If the Body of Christ be truly and sensibly handled and eaten, this cannot be understood of Christ's Glorious Body in Heaven, but it must be of the Bread really made the Body of Christ after Consecration.*

*The Sense which the Canonists put upon the Words of this Recantation is absurd, viz. that they are to be understood of the Species ; For Berengarius his Opinion related to the Substance of Christ's Body which he denied to be in the Sacrament. And what would it have signified for him to have said that Christ was sensibly broken and eaten under the Species of Bread and Wine ? i. e. that his Body was not sensibly broken and eaten but the Species were. It had signified something, if he had said, there was no Substance of Bread and Wine left but only the Species. But all the design of this Recantation was to make him assert the Sacrament to be made the true and real Body of Christ in as strong a manner, as the Pope and his Brethren could think of. And although the Canonists think, if strictly taken, it implies greater Heresie than that of Berengarius ; yet by their favour, this Form was only thought fit to be put into the Canon-Law, as the Standard of the Faith of the Roman Church then ; and the following Abjuration of Berengarius was only kept in the Register of Gregory the seventh's Epistles.*

*For about twenty years after by Order of Gregory VII. Berengarius was brought to another Abjuration, but by no means after the same Form with the former. For by this he was required to declare, that the Bread and Wine are substantially Converted into the true and proper Flesh and Bloud*

Bloud of Christ, and after Consecration are the true Body of Christ born of the Virgin and Sacrificed upon the Cross, and that sits at the right-hand of the Father; and the true Bloud of Christ which was shed out of his Side, not only as a Sacramental Sign, but in propriety of Nature and Reality of Substance.

*This was indeed a pretty bold Assertion of the Substantial Presence. And so much the bolder, if the Commentary on S. Matthew be Hildebrand's. For there he saith, the manner of the Conversion is uncertain. But as far as I can judge, by Substantial Conversion he did not then mean, as the Council of Trent doth, a total Conversion of one substance into another, so as that nothing of the former Substance remains; but that there was a Change by Consecration not by making the Body of Christ of the Substance of the Bread, but by its passing into that Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin. For, upon comparing the two Forms, there we shall find lies the main difference. Pope Nicolaus went no farther than to the true Body of Christ; which it might be as well by Assumption, as Conversion; Gregory VII. went farther and thought it necessary to add that the Change was into the Substance of that Body which was born of the Virgin, &c. And so this second Form excludes a true Body merely by Assumption, and asserts the Change to be into the Substance of Christ's Body in Heaven; but it doth not determine, that nothing of the Substance of the Elements doth remain. For when he puts that kind of Substantial Conversion which leaves nothing but the Accidents, and the Body of Christ to be under them, which belonged to the Substance of the Elements; he declares this matter to be uncertain. Which shews, that however a Change was owned into the Substance of Christ's Body, yet such a total Conversion, as is determined*

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*mined by the Council of Trent, was not then made an Article of Faith.*

*But from this supposition made by Hildebrand it appears, that the Doctrine of Substance and Accidents was then well known; and therefore the introducing Aristotle's Philosophy from the Arabians afterwards could make no Alteration in this Matter. For the words of Hildebrand are as plain as to the difference of Substance and Accidents, as of any of the School-men; and that the Accidents of the Bread and Wine might be separated from the Substance of them; but this was not then made a Matter of Faith; as it was afterwards.*

*But the case was remarkably alter'd, after the Lateran Council under Innocent III. For Transubstantiation being admitted there among the Articles of Faith; and so entered in the Canon-Law in the very beginning of the Decretals; this did not merely become a School-Term, but by the Inquisitors of that time, it was accounted Heresie to deny it. It may be sufficiently proved by the School-men and Canonists, that a difference of Opinions, as to the Modus did still continue, (but that belongs to a more proper place) and Joh. Parisiensis declares (p. 103.) that the Lateran Council in his Opinion did not make Transubstantiation a Point of Faith; or at-least that Substance was not to be taken for the Matter, but the Suppositum; but the Inquisitors went more briskly to work and made it downright Heresie to assert, that the Substance of the Elements did remain after Consecration.*

*Of this, we have full Evidence in the Register of Courteney Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, (which is no Invisible Manuscript.) For there we read f. 25. that he called a select Convocation of Bishops, Divines and Canonists, May 17. A. D. 1382. to declare some Propositions to be Heretical, and some to be Erroneous and contrary to the deter-*

determination of the Church. *Among the first, these two are set down in the first Place,*

1. That the material Substance of the Bread and Wine doth remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after Consecration.

2. That the Accidents do not remain without their Subject in that Sacrament after Consecration.

*After this the Arch-Bishop sent forth his Mandate to all his Suffragans not only to prohibit the preaching of that Doctrine, but to inquire after those who did it. And June 12. Robert Rygge Chancellour of Oxford and Thomas Brightwall appeared before him and were examined upon these Propositions; which they declared to be Heretical: who thereupon required the Publication of them as such in the University; and the proceeding against those who were suspected to favour them.*

*The Ground the Arch-Bishop went upon, was, that these had been already condemned by the Church, and therefore ex abundanti, they declared them to be so condemned; as appears by the Monition given to Robert Rygge himself as too much suspected to favour the contrary Doctrine; as well as Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppynndon D. D. and John Aslton B. D.*

*Against these the Arch-Bishop proceeded as Inquisitor Hæreticæ Pravitatis per totam suam Provinciam, as it is in the Record; who appearing desired a Copy of the several Propositions, and then they were required to give in their judgment upon them. Aslton refused, but the other promised, which they performed soon after; and to these two Propositions, their Answers were,*

*To the first that as far as it was contrary to the Decretal, Firmiter Credimus, it was Heresie.*

*To the second that as far as it was contrary to the Decretal, Cum Martha, it was Heresie.*

(c)

*These*

*These Answers were judged insufficient, because they did not declare what that Sense was. And the Arch-Bishop put this Question to them, whether the same Numerical material Bread which before Consecration was set upon the Altar, did remain in its proper Substance and Nature after Consecration, but they would give no other Answer at that time. But afterwards Reppyndon abjured, and was made Bishop of Lincoln.*

*From hence it appears, that it was then thought that the Modus was so far determin'd by the Lateran Council, that the contrary Doctrine was declared not merely Erroneous in Faith, but Heretical.*

*In the first Convocation held by Th. Arundel Arch-Bishop of Canterbury A. D. 1396, A Complaint was brought, that several Divines and others of the University of Oxford held some heretical and erroneous opinions; the first whereof was,*

*That the Substance of Bread doth remain after Consecration; and doth not cease to be Bread; which is there affirmed to be Heresie, speaking of material Bread.*

*The second, that the Court of Rome in the Can. Ego Berengarius, had determined that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is naturally true Bread.*

*It is very hard to say, how this came to be then accounted Heretical Doctrine, when no less a man than Durandus in the same Age affirms, that the Canonists grant that the Opinion of the ceasing of the Substance was grounded on the Can. Firmiter Credimus, i. e. on the Lateran Council; but that of the remaining of the Substance on that, Ego, Berengarius. But however it passed for Heretical, or at least very Erroneous Doctrine here; but the main Heresie was to hold, that the Substance remained.*



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*For A.D. 1400. (as appears by the Register p. 2. f. 179.) William Sawtre alias Chatris a Parochial Priest in London, was summoned before the same Arch-Bishop in Convocation upon an Information of Heresie; and one of the main Articles against him was that he held the Substance of the Bread to remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after Consecration; and that it doth not cease to be Bread. Sawtre answered, that he believed, that after Consecration the Bread did remain with the Body of Christ; but it doth not cease to be simply Bread, but it remains holy and true the Bread of Life and Body of Christ. The Arch-Bishop examined him chiefly upon this Article; and because he did not answer home to the point, he was condemned for a Heretick, and was the first who was burned for Heresie in England. And yet his Answer was, that he could not understand the matter; then the Arch-Bishop asked him, if he would stand to the Churches Determination; he said, he would so far as it was not contrary to the Will of God. Upon which he was declared an Heretick and delivered over to the Secular Power.*

*In the same Convocation John Purvey made an Abjuration of Heresie, and the first he renounced was that after Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar, there neither is, nor can be an Accident without a Subject, and that the same Substance and Nature of Bread remained which was before.*

*In the Examination of William Thorp by Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury A. D. 1407. (which is not in the Register being defective, but the account is preserved from his own Copy) The Arch-Bishop declared, that the Church had now determined, that there abideth no Substance of Bread after Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar. And that if he believed otherwise he did not believe as the Church believed. Thorp*

(c 2)

*quoted*

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*quoted S. Augustin and Fulgentius to prove that the Substance remained; and the very Mass on Christmas Day. The Arch-Bishop still pressed him with the Churches Determination. Thorp said this was a School-nicety whether Accidents could be without a Subject; no, said the Arch-Bishop, it is the Faith of the Church I go upon. Thorp replied, it was not so for a thousand years after Christ.*

*In the Examination of the Lord Cobham A. D. 1412. by the same Arch-Bishop we find that he owned the Real Presence of Christ's Body as firmly as his Accusers; but he was condemned for Heresie, Because he held the Substance of Bread to remain. For the Arch-Bishop declared this to be the Sense of the Church; that after Consecration, remaineth no material Bread or Wine which were before, they being turned into Christ's very Body and Bloud. The Original words of the Arch-Bishop as they are in the Register, are these.*

*The Faith and the determination of holy Church touching the blestfull Sacrament of the auter is this, that after the Sacramental Words ben said by a Priest in his Masse, the material hede that was before is turned into Christ's veray body. And the material Wyn that was before is turned into Christ veray blode, and so there leweth in the auter, no material hede ne material Wyn the wich wer ther byfore the saying of the Sacramental words.*

*And the Bishops afterwards stood up and said; It is manifest Heresie to say that it is Bread after the Sacramental Words be spoken; because it was against the Determination of holy Church.*

*But to make all sure, not many years after, May 4th. A. D. 1415. the Council of Constance Session 8. declared the two Propositions before mentioned to be heretical;*

*viz.*

Registr.  
Arundel p. 2.  
f. 143.



*viz.* to hold that the Substance doth remain after Consecration, and that the Accidents do not remain without a Subject.

*Let any impartial Reader now judge, whether it be any fatal Oversight to assert, that the Modus of the Real Presence was determin'd by the Council of Trent, when there were so many leading Determinations to it, which were generally owned and received in the Church of Rome. But there were other Disputes remaining in the Schools relating to this Matter; which we do not pretend were ever determin'd by the Council of Trent. As,*

(1.) *Whether the Words of Consecration are to be understood in a Speculative or Practical Sense? For, the Scotists say, in the former Sense, they do by no means prove Transubstantiation; since it may be truly said This is my Body, though the Substance of Bread do remain; and that they are to be understood in a Practical Sense, i. e. for converting the Bread into the Body, is not to be deduced ex vi verborum, from the mere force of the Words, but from the Sense of the Church which hath so understood them. Which in plain terms is to say, it cannot be proved from Scripture, but from the Sense of the Church; and so Scotus doth acknowledge, but then he adds, that we are to judge this to be the Sense of Scripture, because the Church hath declared it. Which he doth not think was done before the Council of Lateran. So that, this Council must be believed to have had as Infallible a Spirit in giving this Sense of Scripture as there was in the writing of it; since it is not drawn from the Words, but added to them. On the other side, the Thomists insist on the force of the Words themselves; for, if, say they, from the Words be infer'd that there is a Real Presence of the Substance of Christ's Body, then it follows thence,*

thence, that there is no Substance of the Bread remaining ; for a Substance cannot be where it was not before, but it must either change its place, or another must be turned into it ; as Fire in a House must either be brought thither, or some other thing must be turned into Fire ; but, say they, the Body of Christ cannot be brought from Heaven thither, for then it must leave the place it had there ; and must pass through all the Bodies between ; and it is impossible for the same Body to be Locally present in several places ; and therefore the Body of Christ cannot otherwise be really and substantially present, but by the Conversion of the Substance of the Bread into it.

(2.) In what Manner the Body of Christ is made to be present in the Sacrament ? The Scotists say, it is impossible to conceive it otherwise than by bringing it from the place where it already is ; the Thomists say that is impossible, since that Body must be divided from it self by so many other Bodies interposing. The former is said to be an adductive Conversion, the latter a productive ; but then here lies another difficulty, how there can be a productive Conversion of a thing already in being. But my business is not to give an account of these School-Disputes ; but to shew how different they were from the point of Transubstantiation ; and that both these disputing Parties did agree that the Modus of the Real Presence was defined to be by changing the Substance of the Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ ; but they still warmly disputed about the Modus of that Modus ; viz. how a Body already in being could be present in so many places without leaving that Place where it was already. And no Man who hath ever look'd into these School-Disputes can ever imagine that they disputed about the Truth of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, but only about the manner of explaining

*ing it. Wherein they do effectually overthrow each others Notions without being able to establish their own ; as the Elector of Cologne truly observed of their Debates about this matter in the Council of Trent.*

*VI. Where the Sense of Words hath been changed by the introducing new Doctrine, there the words ought to be understood according to the Doctrine at that time received. Of this we have two remarkable Instances in the Council of Trent ;*

*The first is about Indulgences, which that Council in its last Session never went about to define ; but made use of the old Word, and so declares both Scripture and Antiquity for the use of them. But there had been a mighty change in the Doctrine about them, since the Word was used in the Christian Church. No doubt there was a Power in the Church to relax Canonical Penances in extraordinary Cases ; but what could that signifie when the Canonical Discipline was laid aside, and a new Method of dealing with Penitents was taken up, and another Trade driven with Respect to Purgatory Pains ? For here was a new thing carried on under an old Name. And that hath been the great Artifice of the Roman Church ; where it hath evidently gone off from the old Doctrines, yet to retain the old Names, that the unwary might still think, the things were the same, because the Names were. As in the present Case, we deny not the use of Indulgences in the Primitive Church ; as the Word was used for Relaxations of the Canonical Discipline ; but we utterly deny it as to the Pains of Purgatory. And that this was the Sense then receiv'd in the Church of Rome, appears from the Papal Constitutions of Boniface the 8th, Clemens the 6th, and Leo the 10th. But of these more hereafter.*

*The*

*The other Instance is in the Word Species used by the Council of Trent, Sess. 13. Can. 2. where an Anathema is denounced against him that denies the Conversion of the whole Substance of the Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ, the Species of Bread and Wine only remaining. Now a Controversie hath been started in the Church of Rome, what is to be understood by Species, whether real Accidents or only Appearances.*

*Some of the Church of Rome who have had a Taste of the New Philosophy, reject any real Accidents, and yet declare Transubstantiation to be a matter of Faith, and go about to explain the Notion of it in another manner. Among these one Emanuel Maignan, a Professor of Divinity at Tholouse, hath at large undertaken this matter. The Method he takes is this.*

Maignan Phi-  
losophia Sa-  
cra. Part 2.  
Append. 5.

(1.) *He grants, that nothing remains of the Bread after Consecration, but that whereby it was an Object of Sense; because that which is really the Being of one thing cannot be the Being of another. And he confesses that the Modus as to the not being of the Substance after Consecration, is determin'd by the Councils of Constance and Trent.*

(2.) *He asserts, that real Accidents, supposing them separable from the Substance, are not that whereby the Elements are made the Objects of Sense; because they do not make the Conjunction between the Object and the Faculty.*

(3.) *Since he denies, that Accidents have any real Being distinct from the Substance they are in, he grants, that it is as much a matter of Faith, that there are no real Accidents after Consecration, as that there is no real Substance; and he brings the Authorities of the Councils of Lateran, Florence and Trent to prove it.*

(4.) *As*

(4.) *As the Substance did by Divine Concourse so Act upon the Senses before, as to make it be an Object of Sense; so after Consecration, God by his immediate Act makes the same Appearances, although the Substance be gone. And this, he saith, is the effect of this Miraculous Conversion, which is concealed from our Senses, by God's immediate causing the very same Appearances, which came before from the Substance. Which Appearances, he saith, are the Species mention'd by the Council of Trent; and other elder Councils and Fathers.*

*Against this new Hypothesis, a famous Jesuit, Theophilus Raynaudus, opposed himself with great vehemency; and urged these Arguments against it.*

(1.) *That it overthrows the very Nature of a Sacrament, leaving no external visible sign; but a perpetual illusion of the Senses, in such a manner, that the Error of one cannot be corrected by another.*

(2.) *That it overthrows the Design of the Sacrament, which is to be true and proper Food. My Flesh is meat indeed, &c. John 6. Which, he saith, is to be understood of the Sacrament, as well as of the Body of Christ, and therefore cannot agree with an imaginary appearance.*

(3.) *It is not consistent with the Accidents which befall the Sacramental Species, as to be trod under foot, to be cast into indecent places, to be devoured by Brutes, to be Putrified, &c. If the Body of Christ withdraws, there must be something beyond mere Appearances.*

(4.) *He makes this Doctrine to be Heretical, because the Council of Constance condemned it as an Heretical Proposition, to affirm, that in the Eucharist Accidents do not remain without their Subject; and because the Council of Trent uses the Word Species in the Sense*

(d)

then

## The PREFACE.

*then generally received, and so it signified the same with Accidents. Which, saith he, farther appears, because the Council speaks of the Species remaining ; but if there be no real Accidents, the Species doth not remain in the Object ; but a new Appearance is produced. And it seems most reasonable to interpret the Language of the Council according to the general Sense wherein the Words were understood at that time.*

*VII. What things were disputed and opposed by some in the Council, without being censured for it, although they were afterwards decreed by a Major Party, yet cannot be said to have been there received by a Catholick Tradition. Because Matters of Faith which have been universally received in the Church, can never be supposed to be contested in a Council without Censure ; but if it appears that there were Heats and warm Debates among the Parties in the Council it self, and both think they speak the Sense of the Catholick Church ; then we must either allow that there was then no known Catholick Tradition about those matters, or that the Divines of the Church of Rome assembled in Council did not understand what it was. And what happens to be decreed by a Majority, can never be concluded from thence to have been the Tradition before, because there was a different Sense of others concerning it. And since in a division, a single Person may make a Majority, it will be very hard to believe, that he carries Infallibility and Catholick Tradition along with him.*

*But I think it Reasonable in the enquiry after Catholick Tradition to take notice of the different Opinions in the Council ; and among the School-men before it ; and not only to observe, what was the Sense of the Roman Church,*

## THE PREFACE.

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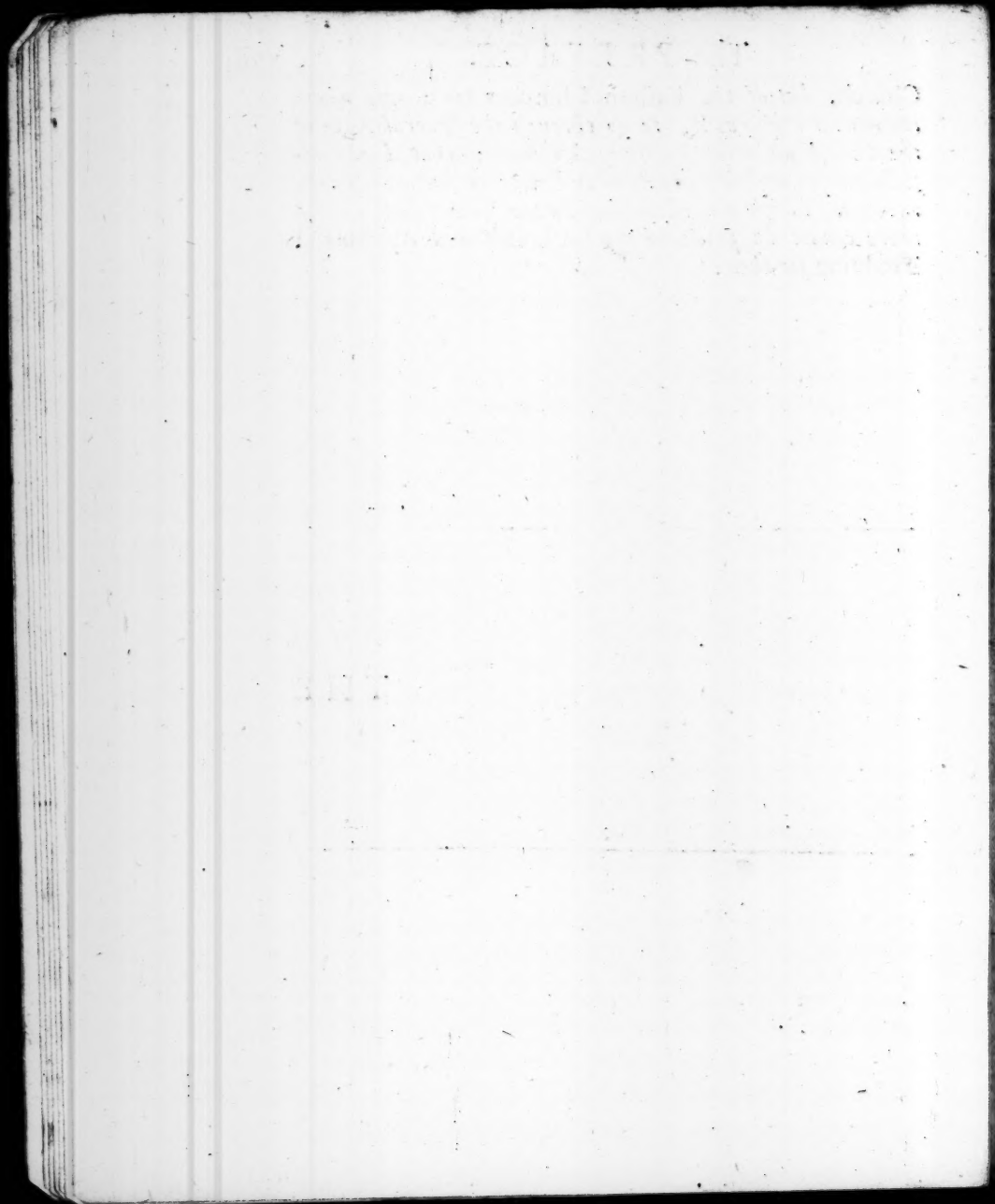
Church, *but of the Eastern Churches too ; and where the matter requires it, to go through the several Ages of the Church up to the Apostolical Times ; that I may effectually prove, that in the main Points in Controversie between us, which are established by the Council of Trent, there cannot be produced any Catholick and Apostolical Tradition for them.*

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THE

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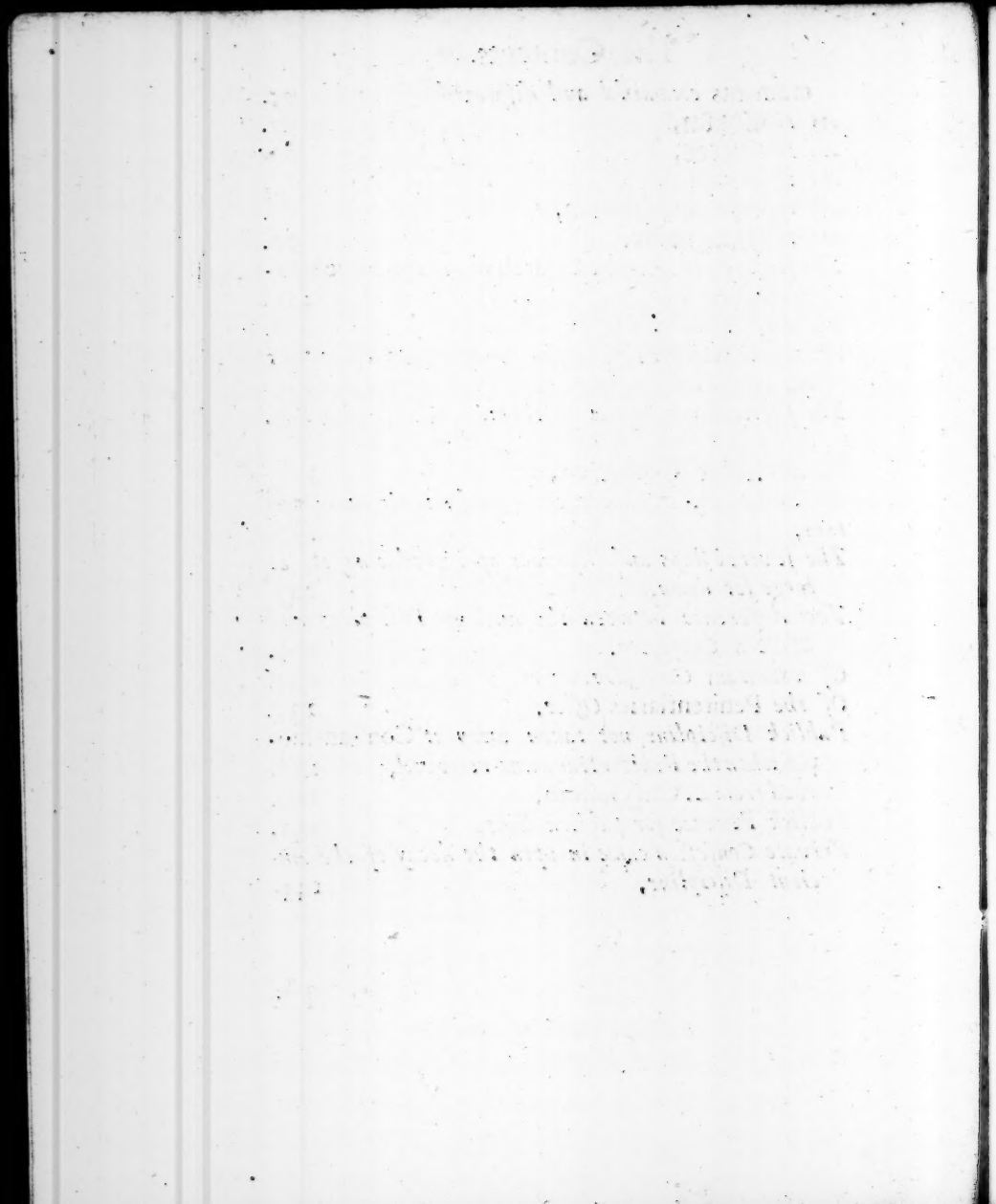
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THE  
Council of Trent  
EXAMINED  
AND  
DISPROVED, &c.

There are Two things designed by me in this Treatise,

1. To shew that there is no such thing as universal Tradition for the main Points in Controversie between us and the Church of *Rome*, as they are determined by the Council of *Trent*.

2. To give an Account by what Steps and Degrees, and on what Occasion those Doctrines and Practices came into the Church.

But before I come to particulars, I shall lay down some reasonable *Postulata*.

1. That a *Catholic Tradition* must be universally received among the sound Members of the Catholick Church.

2. That the force of Tradition lies in the Certainty of Conveyance of Matters of Faith from the Apostolical Times. For no New Doctrines being pretended to, there

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can

## No Catholick Tradition

can be no Matter of Faith in any Age of the Church, but what was so in the precedent and so up to the Apostles times.

3. That it is impossible to suppose the Divines of the Catholick Church to be ignorant, what was in their own time received for *Catholick Tradition*. For, if it be so hard for others to mistake it, it will be much more so for those whose business is to enquire into, and to deliver Matters of Faith.

These things premised, I now enter upon the Points themselves; and I begin with,

### I. Traditions being a Rule of Faith equal with Scriptures.

This is declared by the Council of *Trent*, as the Groundwork of their Proceedings.

*Necnon Traditiones ipsas tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus à Christo vel à Spiritu sancto dictatas & continuâ successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit & veneratur.*

The words are Sess. 4. *That the Council receives Traditions both as to Faith and manners, either delivered by Christ himself with his own mouth, or dictated by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholick Church by a continual Succession with equal Piety of Affection and Re-*

*verence as the Proofs of holy Scripture.*

Where the Council first supposes *there are such Traditions from Christ and the Holy Ghost distinct from Scripture which relate to Faith*; and then it declares *equal Respect and Veneration due to them*. No one questions but the Word of Christ and Dictates of the Holy Ghost deserve equal Respect, howsoever conveyed to us; But the Point is, whether there was a *Catholick Tradition* before this time  
for

for an unwritten Word, as a Foundation of Faith, together with the written Word.

1. It is therefore impertinent here to talk of a *Tradition before the written Word*; for our Debate is concerning both being joined together to make a perfect Rule of Faith: and yet this is one of the common Pleas on behalf of Tradition.

2. It is likewise impertinent to talk of that Tradition whereby we do receive the written Word. For the Council first supposes the written Word to be received and embraced as the Word of God, before it mentions the unwritten Word; and therefore, it cannot be understood concerning that Tradition whereby we receive the Scriptures. And the Council affirms, *That the Truth of the Gospel is contained partly in Books that are written, and partly in unwritten Traditions*. By the Truth of the Gospel they cannot mean the Scriptures being the Word of God, but that the word was contained partly in Scripture and partly in Tradition; and it is therefore impertinent to urge the Tradition for Scripture to prove Tradition to be part of the Rule of Faith, as it is here owned by the Council of *Trent*.

3. The Council doth not here speak of a Traditionary sense of Scripture, but of a distinct Rule of Faith from the Scripture. For of that it speaks afterwards in the Decree about the use of the Scripture; where it saith, *no man ought to interpret Scripture against the Sense of the Church to whom it belongs to judge of the true Sense and Meaning of Scripture, nor against the unanimous Consent of the Fathers*. Whereby it is evident, the Council is not to be understood of any Consequences drawn out of Scripture concerning things not expressly contained in it; but it clearly means an unwritten Word distinct from the written, and not contained in it, which, together with

## No Catholick Tradition

that, makes up a Complete Rule of Faith. This being the true sense of the Council, I now shew that there was no *Catholick Tradition* for it.

Which I shall prove by these steps:

1. From the Proceedings of the Council it self.
2. From the Testimony of the Divines of that Church before the Council for several Centuries.
3. From the Canon Law received and allowed in the Church of *Rome*.
4. From the ancient Offices used in that Church.
5. From the Testimony of the Fathers.

1. From the Proceedings of the Council about this matter.

By the *Postulata* it appears, that the *Catholick Tradition* is such as must be known by the sound members of the Church, and especially of the Divines in it. But it appears by the most allowed Histories of that Council, this Rule of Faith was not so received there. For Cardinal *Pallavicini* tells us that it was warmly debated and canvassed even by the Bishops themselves. The Bishop of *Fano* (*Bertanus*) urged against it, that God had not given equal firmness to Tradition as he had done to Scripture, since several Traditions had failed. But the Bishop of *Bisonto* (*Mussus*) opposed him and said, Though all Truths were not to be equally regarded, yet every word of God ought, and Traditions as well as Scripture were the word of God, and the first Principles of Faith; and the greater part of the Council followed him. It seems then there was a division in the Council about it; but how could that be if there were a Catholick Tradition about this Rule of Faith? Could the Bishops of the Catholick Church, when assembled in Council to determine Matters of Faith, be

Hist. Concil.  
Trident. l. 6.  
c. 14. n. 3.



be no better agreed about the Rule of Faith; and yet must we believe there was at that time a known Catholick Tradition about it, and that it was impossible they should err about such a Tradition? Nay farther, the same Authour tells us, that although this Bishop had gained the greatest part of the Council to him, yet his own heart misgave him, and in the next Congregation himself proposed, that instead of *equal* it might be put a *like Veneration*; and yet we must believe there was a Catholick Tradition for an Equal Veneration to Scripture and Tradition. But the Bishop of Chioza, (Naclantus) he saith, *inveighed more bitterly against this Equality*, and in the face of the Council *charged the Doctrine with Impiety*; and he would not allow any Divine Inspiration to Tradition, but that they were to be considered onely as Laws of the Church. It's true, he saith he professed to consent to the Decree afterwards, but withall he tells us, that he was brought under the Inquisition not long after, upon suspicion of Heresie; which shews they were not well satisfied with his submission. We are extremely beholden to Cardinal *Pallavicini* for his Information in these matters, which are past over too jejunely by *F. Paul*.

N. 4.

2. I proceed to the Testimony of the Divines of the Roman Church before the Council of *Trent*. It is observed by some of them, that when the Fathers appealed to the Tradition of the Church in any controverted Point of Faith, they made their Appeal to those who wrote before the Controversie was started; as *S. Augustin* did against the *Pelagians*, &c. This is a reasonable Method of proceeding, in case Tradition be a Rule of Faith: and therefore must be so even in this point, whether Tradition be such a Rule or not. For the Divines who wrote before could not be ignorant of the Rule of Faith they received among themselves.

Ang. l. 2. c.  
Julian.

Gabriel

*Et cetera nostra salutis necessaria,  
quæ omnia sola docet sacra Scriptu-  
ra. Læſion. in Canon. diſſa 71.*

*Hæc autem in ſacris Scripturis  
diſcuntur, per quas ſolas plenam in-  
telligere poſſumus Dei voluntatem.  
ib.*

*Gabriel Biel* lived in the latter end of the 15th Century, and he affirms, that the Scripture alone teaches all things neceſſary to ſalvation; and he inſtances in the things to be done and to be avoided, to be loved and to be deſpiſed, to be believed and to be hoped for. And again, that the Will of God is to be underſtood by the Scriptures, and by them alone we know the whole Will of God. If the whole Will of

God were to be known by the Scripture, how could part of it be preſerved in an unwritten Tradition? And if this were then part of the Rule of Faith, how could ſuch a Man, who was Profeſſour of Divinity at *Tubing* be ignorant of it? I know he ſaith he took the main of his Book from the Lectures of *Eggelingus*, in the Cathedral Church at *Mentz*; but this adds greater ſtrength to the Argument, ſince it appears hereby that this Doctrin was not confined to the Schools, but openly delivered in one of the moſt famous Churches of *Germany*.

*Cajetan* died not above 12 Years before the Council, who agrees with this Doctrin of *Biel* or *Eggelingus* (and he was accounted the Oracle of his time for Divinity) for

he affirms that the Scripture gives ſuch a perfection to a Man of God (or one that devoutly ſerves him) that thereby he is accompliſhed for every good Work; How can this be, if there be another Rule of Faith quite diſtinct from the Written Word?

*Bellarmin* indeed grants, that all things which are ſimply neceſſary to the Salvation of all, are plainly contained in Scripture, by which he yields, that the Scripture alone is the Rule of Faith as to neceſſary points; and he calls

*Ecce quo tendit utilitas divine  
Scripturæ ad perfectionem hominis  
Dei ( hoc eſt qui totum ſeipſum  
Deo dat ) perfectionem inquam ta-  
lem ut ſit perfectus ad omne bonum  
exercendum. In 2. ad Tim. 3. 16.*

call the Scripture *the certain and stable Rule of Faith*, yea *the most certain and most secure Rule*. If there be then any other, it must be *less certain* and about points *not necessary* to Salvation; i. e. it must be a Rule where there is no need of a Rule. For if Mens Salvation be sufficiently provided for, by the Written Rule; and the Divine Revelation, be in Order to mens Salvation, what need any other Revelation to the Church, besides what is Written?

Dico illa omnia Scripta esse ab Apostolis quae sunt omnibus necessaria, & quae ipsi palam omnibus vulgo praedicaverunt. Bellarm. de verbo Dei. l. 4. c. 11.

*Illud imprimis statuendum erit Propheticos & Apostolicos libros juxta mentem Ecclesiae Catholicae verum esse verbum Dei & certam ac stabilem Regulam fidei. Id. l. 1. c. 1. At sacris Scripturis quae Prophetice & Apostolicis literis continentur, nihil est notum, nihil certum. Id. c. 2.*

*Quare cum Sacra Scriptura Regula credendi certissima tutissimæque sit. Ibid.*

He asserts farther, *that nothing is de fide, but what God hath revealed to the Prophets and Apostles, or is deduced from thence*. This he brings to prove *that whatsoever was received as a matter of Faith in the Church, which is not found in Scripture must have come from an Apostolical Tradition*. But if it be *necessary to Salvation*, according to his own Concession it must be written; and if it be not, how comes it to be received as a matter of Faith? unless it be first proved, that it is necessary to Salvation to receive an unwritten Rule of Faith, as well as a written? For, either it must be necessary on its own Account, and then he saith it must be written; and if not, then it can be no otherwise necessary than because it is to be believed on the Account of a Rule, which makes it necessary. And consequently that Rule must be first proved to be a necessary Article of Faith: Which *Bellarmin* hath nowhere done; but onely sets down Rules about knowing true Apostolical Traditions from others in matters of Faith, wherein he wisely supposes that which he was to prove. And

L. 4. c. 9.

And the true Occasion of setting up this new Rule of Faith is intimated by *Bellarmin* himself in his first Rule of judging true Apostolical Traditions. Which is, *when the Church believes any thing as a Doctrine of Faith which is not in Scripture*, then saith he, *we must judge it to be an Apostolical Tradition*. Why so? *Otherwise the Church must have erred intaking that for a matter of Faith which was not*. And this is the great Secret about this New Rule of Faith; they saw plainly several things were imposed on the Faith of Christians, which could not be proved from *Scripture*; and they must not yield they had once mistaken, and therefore this New, Additional Less certain Rule for *unnecessary Points* must be advanced, although they wanted *Tradition* among themselves to prove *Tradition a Rule of Faith*, which I shall now farther make appear from their own *School Divines* before the Council of *Trent*.

We are to observe among them what those are which they strictly call *Theological Truths*, and by them we shall judge, what they made the *Rule of Faith*. For, they do not make a bare *Revelation* to any Person a sufficient Ground for Faith; but they say \* *the Revelation must be publick, and designed for the general Benefit of the Church*; and so *Aquinas* determines † *that our Faith rests onely upon the Revelations made to the Prophets and Apostles*; and *Theological Truths* are such as are immediately deduced from the *Principles of Faith*, i.e. from *publick Divine Revelations* owned and received by the Church. The modern School men, || who follow the Council of *Trent* make *Theological Truths* to be deduced from the *unwritten as well as the Written word*; or else they would not speak consonantly to their own Doctrine. And therefore if those before them deduce *Theological Truths* onely from the *Written Word*, then it will follow that they did not hold

\* Et quantum  
ad ea quæ  
proponantur  
omnibus cre-  
denda quæ  
pertinent ad  
fidei. 2. 2.  
q. 171. prol.

† 1. q. 1. a. 5.

|| Melch. Can.  
l. 12. c. 3.

hold the unwritten Word to be a Rule of Faith.

Marfilius ab Inghen was first Professor of Divinity of Heidelberg (at the latter end of the 15th Century saith Bellarmin, but Trithemius saith the 14th) and he determines, that a Theological Proposition is that which is positively asserted in Scripture or deduced from thence by good Consequence; and that a Theological Truth strictly taken is the Truth of an Article of Faith, or something expressed in the Bible, or deduced from thence. He mentions Apostolical Traditions afterwards, and joins them with Ecclesiastical Histories and Martyrologies. So far was he from supposing them to be part of the Rule of Faith.

Marfil. in 4.  
lib. Sentent.  
l. 1. Proem.  
q. 2. art. 2.

In the beginning of the 15th Century lived Petrus de Alliaco, one as famous for his skill in Divinity, as for his Dignity in the Church, He saith, that Theological Discourse is founded on Scripture, and a Theological Proof must be drawn from thence; that Theological Principles are the Truths contained in the Canon of Scripture; and Conclusions are such as are drawn out of what is contained in Scripture. So that he not onely makes the Scripture the Foundation of Faith, but of all sorts of true Reasoning about it. He knew nothing of Cardinal Palavicini's two first Principles of Faith.

Pet. de Alliaco in Sent.  
l. 1. q. 1.  
a. 3.

To the same purpose speaks Gregorius Ariminensis, about the middle of the 14th Century he saith, all Theological Discourse is grounded on Scripture and the Consequences from it; which he not onely proves from Testimony, but *ex communi omnium conceptione*, from the general Consent of Christians. For, saith he, all are agreed that then a thing is proved Theologically, when it is proved from the Words of Scripture. So that here we have plain Tradition, against Traditions being a distinct Rule of Faith, and this delivered by the General of an Order in the Church of Rome. He affirms that the Principles of Theo-

Greg. Arim.  
lib. 9. c. 2.

logy, are no other than the Truths contained in the *Canon of Scripture*; and that the *Resolution* of all *Theological Discourse* is into them; and that there can be no *Theological Conclusion*, but what is drawn from *Scripture*.

Durand. Prolog.  
Q. 5. a. 9.

a. 13.

n. 21.

In the former part of that Century lived *Durandus*, he gives a threefold Sense of *Theology*. 1. For a habit whereby we assent to those things which are contained in *Scripture*, as they are there delivered. 2. For a habit whereby those things are defended and declared which are delivered in *Scripture*. 3. For a habit of those things which are deduced out of *Articles of Faith*; and so it is all one with the holy *Scripture*.

L. 3. Dist. 25.  
q. 2.

And in another place he affirms, that all Truth is contained in the *Holy Scripture* at large; but for the People's *Conveniency* the necessary Points are summed up in the *Apostles Creed*.

In his *Preface* before his Book on the *Sentences* he highly commends the *Scriptures* for their *Dignity*, their *Usefulness*, their *Certainty*, their *Depth*; and after all concludes, that in matters of *Faith* men ought to speak agreeably to the *Scriptures*; and whosoever doth not, breaks the *Rule of the Scriptures*, which he calls the *Measure of our Faith*. What *Tradition* did appear then for another *Rule of Faith* in the 14th Century?

But before I proceed higher I shall shew the Consent of others with these School Divines in the three last Centuries before the *Council of Trent*. In the middle of the 15th lived *Nicholaus Panormitanus*, one of mighty Reputation for his skill in the *Canon Law*. In the Ch. *Significasti prima. 1. de Electione*, debating the Authority of *Pope and Council*, he saith, *If the Pope hath better Reason his Authority is greater than the Councils; and if any private person in matters of Faith hath*

*Nam in concernentibus fidem etiam dictum unius privati esset preferendum dicto Papa si ille moveretur melioribus rationibus novi et veteris Testamenti quam Papa.*



hath better Reason out of Scripture than the Pope, his saying is to be preferred above the Pope's. Which words do plainly shew, that the Scripture was then looked on as the *only Rule of Faith*; or else no Man's grounding himself on Scripture could make his Doctrine to be preferred before the Pope's; who might alledge *Tradition* against him, and if that were an equal Rule of Faith, the Doctrine of one Rule could not be preferred before the other.

At the same time lived *Tostatus* the famous Bishop of *Avila*, one of infinite Industry and great Judgment, and therefore could not be mistaken in the *Rule of Faith*. In his Preface on *Genesis* he saith, that there must be a Rule for our understandings to be regulated by, and that Rule must be most certain; that Divine Faith is the most certain; and that is contained in Scripture, and therefore we must regulate our understandings thereby. And this he makes to be the measure of Truth and Falshood. If he knew any other Rule of Faith besides the Scriptures, he would have mentioned it in this place; and not have directed Men onely to them, as the exact measure of Truth and Falshood.

In the beginning of this Century *Thomas Walden* (Confessor to our *Henry 5th*, saith *Trithemius*;) disputed sharply against *Wickliff*; but he durst not set up the Churches Authority or Tradition equal with the Scriptures. For when he mentions Tradition after Scriptures, he utterly disclaims any such thought as that of Equality between them; but he desires a due distance may be kept between Canonical Scripture and Ecclesiastical Authority or Tradition. In the first place he saith, we ought to believe the holy Scriptures; then

*Clem ergo in omni veritate veritas divina sit certior & immutabilior, ergo omnes alia debent regulari per illam, & in quantum conformantur illi sunt vera; in quantum autem deviant ab illa, deviant a natura veritatis. Sacra autem Scriptura veritas divina est, ideo iudicium nostrum debemus regulare per illam applicando ad eam, &c. Tostat. in Ep. Hieron. c. 6. p. 28. D.*

*Non quod in Auctoritate aquantur, absit; sed sequantur. Non quidem in subsidium Auctoritatis Canonica, sed in admonitionem posterorum, l. 2. Art. 2. c. 22.*



- c. 28. *the Definitions and Customs of the Catholick Church; but he more fully explains himself in another place, where*
- c. 27. *he plainly asserts, that nothing else is to be received by such Faith as the Scripture and Christ's symbolical Church; but for all other Authorities, the lowest degree is that of Catholick Tradition, the next of the Bishops, especially of the Apostolical Churches, and the Roman in the first place; and above all these he places that of a General Council; but when he hath so done, he saith, all these Authorities are to be regarded but as the Instructions of Elders, and Admonitions of Fathers. So that the chief Opposers of Wickliff had not yet found out this new Rule of Faith.*

Joh. Gerson.  
Exam. Doctr.  
p. 540.  
Part. I. Conf.  
5.

Much about the same time lived Joh. Gerson, whom Cardinal Zabarella declared, in the Council of Constance, to be the greatest Divine of his time, and therefore could not be ignorant of the true Rule of Faith. He agrees with Panormitan in this, that if a man be well skilled in Scriptures, his Doctrine deserves more to be regarded than the Pope's Declaration; for, saith he, the Gospel is more to be believed than the Pope, and if such a one teaches a Doctrine to be contained in Scripture, which the Pope either knows not or mistakes, it is plain whose Judgment is to be preferred. Nay, he goes farther, that if in a General Council he finds the Majority incline to that part which is contrary to Scripture, he is bound to oppose it, and he instances in Hilary. And he shews, that since the Canon of Scripture received by the Church, no Authority of the Church is to be equalled to it. He allows a Judgment of Discretion in private persons, and a Certainty of the literal Sense of Scripture attainable thereby. He makes the

Conf. 6.

*Nihil audendum dicere de divinis nisi quæ nobis à Sacra Scriptura tradita sunt. Cujus ratio est, quoniam Scriptura nobis tradita est tanquam Regula sufficiens & infallibilis, pro Regimine totius Ecclesiasticæ*

*Scripture the onely standing infallible Rule of Faith for the whole Church to the end of the world. And whatever Doctrine is not agreeable thereto, is to be rejected either*

*as*

as Heretical, suspicious, or impertinent to Religion. If the Council of Trent had gone by this Rule, we had never heard of the Creed of Pius IV.

igionem prorsus est habenda.

ci corporis & membrorum usque in finem seculi. Est igitur talis Ars, talis regula, vel exemplar, cui se non conformans alia Doctrina, vel abijcienda est ut hereticalis, aut suspecta, aut impertinens ad Religionem. Exam. Doctr. Part. 2. Confid. 1.

In the beginning of the 14th Century lived *Nicolaus de Lyra*, who parallels the Scriptures in matters of Faith with First-principles in Sciences; for as other Truths are tried in them by their reduction to First-principles, so in matters of Faith by their reduction to Canonical Scriptures, which are of divine Revelation, which is impossible to be false. If he had known any other Principles which would have made Faith impossible to be false, he would never have spoken thus of Scripture alone. But to return to the School Divines.

About the same time lived *Joh. Duns Scotus*, the head of a School, famous for Subtilty; He affirms, that the holy Scripture doth sufficiently contain all matters necessary to salvation; because by it we know what we are to believe, hope for, and practise. And after he hath enlarged upon them, he concludes in these words, *patet quod Scriptura sacra sufficienter continet Doctrinam necessariam viatori*. If this be understood onely of Points simply necessary, then however it proves, that all such things necessary to Salvation are therein contained; and no man is bound to enquire after unnecessary Points. How then can it be necessary to embrace another Rule of Faith, when all things necessary to Salvation are sufficiently contained in Scripture?

But *Thomas Aquinas* is more express in this matter; For he saith, that those things which depend on the Will of God, and are above any desert of ours, can

Et enim quae ex sola Dei voluntate supra omne debitum Creaturae, nobis innotescere non possunt, nisi quotenus in sacra Scriptura traduntur, per quam Divina voluntas nobis innotescit. 3. q. 1. a. 3. in C.

be

*be known no otherways by us, than as they are delivered in Scriptures by the Will of God, which is made known to us.*

Suarez, in 3.  
p. 117.

This is so remarkable a Passage, that Suarez could not let it escape without corrupting it; for instead of *Scripture* he makes him to speak of Divine Revelation in general, *viz.* under *Scripture* he comprehends all; that is, under the *written Word* he means the *unwritten*. If he had meant so, he was able to have expressed his own mind more plainly; and *Cajetan* apprehended no such meaning in his words, But this is a matter of so great consequence, that I shall prove from other passages in him, that he asserted the same Doctrine, *viz.* *That the Scripture was the onely Rule of Faith.*

*Autoritatibus autem Canonica Scriptura utitur propriè ex necessitate argumentando; autoritatibus autem aliorum Doctorum Ecclesie quasi arguendo ex propriis sed probabiliter. Innuitur enim fides nostra Revelationi Apostolis & Prophetis facta, qui Canonicos libros scripserunt, non autem Revelationi si qua fuit aliis Doctoribus facta. 1. q. 1. a. 8. ad 2.*

necessary Arguments from thence, as well as from Canonical Scriptures. But if all other Authorities be *onely probable*, then they cannot make any thing necessary to be believed.

*Quæ igitur fidei sunt non sunt tenenda probari nisi per Auctoritates his qui Auctoritates suscipiunt. 1. q. 32. a. 1. c.*

*Si autem ad veritatem eloquiorum sc. sacrorum respicit, hoc & non Canonè utimur. Ib.*

1. He makes no Proofs of matters of Faith to be sufficient but such as are deduced from Scripture; and all other Arguments from Authority to be *onely probable*; nay although such Persons had particular Revelations. How can this be consistent with another Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture? For if he had owned any such, he must have deduced necessary Arguments from thence, as well as from Canonical Scriptures. But if all other Authorities be *onely probable*, then they cannot make any thing necessary to be believed.

2. He affirms, that to those who receive the Scriptures we are to prove nothing but by the Scriptures, as matter of Faith. For by *Authorities* he means nothing but the Scriptures; as appears by the former place, and by what follows, where he mentions the *Canon of Scripture* expressly.

3. He

3. He asserts that the *Articles of the Creed* are all contained in *Scripture*, and are drawn out of *Scripture*, and put together by the Church onely for the Ease of the People. From hence it necessarily follows that the Reason of believing the *Articles of the Creed*, is to be taken from the written Word and not from any *unwritten Tradition*. For else he needed not to have been so carefull to shew, that they were all taken out of *Scripture*.

Dicendum quod veritas fidei in Sacra Scriptura diffusè continetur—ideo fuit necessarium ut ex sententiis Sacra Scriptura aliquid manifestum summarie colligeretur, quod proponeretur omnibus ad credendum; quod quidem non est additum Sacra Scriptura, sed potius ex Sacra Scriptura sumptum. 2. 2. q. 1. a. 9. ad primum.

4. He distinguisheth the Matters of Faith in *Scripture*, some to be believed for themselves, which he calls *prima Credibilia*; these he saith every one is bound explicitly to believe; but for other things he is bound onely implicitly, or in a preparation of mind, to believe whatever is contained in *Scripture*; and then onely is he bound to believe explicitly when it is made clear to him to be contained in the *Doctrine of Faith*. Which words must imply the *Scripture* to be the onely Rule of Faith; For otherwise *implicit Faith*, must relate to whatever is proved to be an *unwritten Word*.

Quantum ad prima Credibilia, quæ sunt Articuli fidei, tenetur homo explicitè credere, sicut et tenetur habere fidem. Quantum autem ad alia credibilia non tenetur homo explicitè credere, sed solum implicitè, vel in præparatione animi in quantum paratus est credere quicquid Scriptura continet; sed tunc solum huiusmodi tenetur explicitè credere, quando hoc ei constiterit in Doctrina fidei contineri. 2. 2. q. 2. a. 3. c.

From all this it appears that *Aquinas* knew nothing of a *Traditional Rule of Faith*; although he lived after the *Lateran Council* A. D. 1215. being born about nine years after it.

And *Bonaventure*, who died the same year with him, affirms, that nothing was to be said, (about Matters of Faith) but what is made clear out of the holy *Scriptures*.

Ex nihil nobis dicendum est, præter ea quæ nobis ex Sacris Eloquiis claret. Bonav. in 3 Sent. Dist. 1. Art. 2. q. 2.

Not.

Not long after them lived *Henricus Gandavensis*; and he delivers these things which are very material to our purpose.

*Quod autem credimus posterioribus circa quos non apparent virtutes divinae, hoc est, quia non predicant alia quam quae illi in scriptis certissimum reliquerunt, quae constat per medios in nullo fuisse vitata ex consensione concordis in eis omnium succedentium usque ad tempora nostra. Hen. Gandav. Sum. Art. 9. q. 3. n. 13. 2.*

Certain Rule, and that we are to judge of all other Doctrines by them.

*Quia veritas ipsa in Scriptura immobiliter & immutabiliter semper custoditur. — In personis autem Ecclesia mutabilis est & variabilis ut dissentire fidei possit multitudo illorum, & vel per errorem, vel per malitiam à fide discedere licet; semper Ecclesia in aliquibus iustis stabit. Art. 8. q. 1. n. 5.*

tion be a Rule of Faith equal with Scriptures, which depends upon the Testimony of Persons who are so very fallible?

I might carry this way of Testimony on higher still, as when *Richardus de S. Victore* saith, in the thirteenth Century, that every Truth is suspected by him, which is not confirmed by Holy Scripture; but in stead of that I shall now proceed to the Canon Law, as having more Authority than particular Testimonies.

*Suspecta est mihi omnis veritas, quam non confirmat Scripturarum Auctoritas. Rich. de S. Victore, De Prepar. Animi ad Contempl. Part. 1. c. 81.*

3. As to the *Canon Law* collected by *Gratian*, I do not insist upon its *Confirmation* by *Eugenius*, but upon its *universal Reception* in the *Church of Rome*. And from thence I shall evidently prove that *Tradition* was not allowed to be a *Rule of Faith* equal with the *Scriptures*.

*Dist. 9. c. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10.* The *Authority and Infallibility* of the *holy Scripture* is asserted above all other *Writings* whatsoever; for all other *Writings* are to be examined, and men are to judge of them as they see cause.

Now *Bellarmin* tells us, that the *unwritten Word* is so called, not that it always continues *unwritten*, but that it was so by the first *Authour* of it. So that the *unwritten Word* doth not depend on mere *Oral Tradition*, according to him, but it may be found in the *Writers of the Church*; but the *Canon Law* expressly excludes all other *Writings*, let them contain what they will, from being admitted to any *Competition* with *Canonical Scripture*; and therefore according to that, no part of the *Rule of Faith* was contained in any other than *Canonical Scriptures*.

De verbo Dei  
l. 4. c. 2.

c. 12.

*Dist. 37. c. Relatum*, A man is supposed to have an entire and firm *Rule of Faith* in the *Scriptures*.

Cum enim ex divinis Scripturis integram quis & firmam Regulam veritatis suscepit.

*Caus. 8. q. 1. c. Nec sufficere*, The *Scriptures* are said to be the only *Rule* both of *Faith* and *Life*.

Quibus sacris literis unica est credendi pariter & vivendi Regula prescripta.

And the *Gloss* on the *Canon Law* there owns the *Scripture* to be the *Rule* for matters of *Faith*; but very pleasantly applies it to the *Clergy*, and thinks *Images* enough for the *Laity*.

*Caus. 24. q. 1. c. Non afferentes*. The *Scriptures* are acknowledged to be the *true Balance*; and that we are not so much to weigh what we find there, as to own what we find there already weighed. Which must imply the *Scripture* alone to be that *Measure* we are to trust to.

D

*Dist.*



*Dist. 8. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.* It is there said, that *Custom must yield to Truth and Reason, when that is discovered, and that for this Reason, because Christ said, I am Truth and not Custome.* Now, if Tradition be an Infallible Rule of Faith, Custome ought always to be presumed to have Truth and Reason of its side. For, if we can once suppose a Custome to prevail in the Church against Truth and Reason, it is impossible that Tradition should be Infallible; for what is that but Ancient Custome?

*Caus. 11. Q. 3. c. 101.* *Si is qui præst.* If any one commands what God hath forbidden, or forbids what God hath commanded, he is to be accursed of all that love God. And if he requires any thing besides the Will of God, or what God hath evidently required in Scripture, he is to be looked on as a false Witness of God, and a Sacrilegious Person. How can this be, if there be another infallible way of conveying the Will of God besides the Scriptures?

*Sed in hanc insipientiam cadunt, qui cum ad cognoscendam veritatem aliquo impediuntur obscuro, non ad Propheticas voces, non ad Apostolicas litteras, nec ad Evangelicam auctoritatem, sed ad seipsos recurrunt.*

*Caus. 2. 4. 9. 3. c. 30. c.* *Quid autem.* In matters of doubt it is said that men are to fly to the Written word for satisfaction, and that it is folly not to doe it. It is true, Mens own Fancies are opposed to Scripture, but against Mens Fancies no other Rule is mentioned but that of the Written Word.

*Joh. 22. Extravag. c. Quia quorundam. Tit. 14.* makes his Appeal to Scripture in the Controversie then on foot about Use and Property; *Dicunt nobis ubi legunt, &c.* and he shews that if it were a matter of Faith, it must be contained in Scripture, either expressly or by reduction; otherwise the Scripture would be no certain Rule; and by consequence, the Articles of Faith which are proved by

*Nec quasi hoc sacra Scriptura contineat, quo negato tota Scriptura sacra redditur dubia; & per consequens articuli Fidei, qui habeantur per*



by Scripture, would be rendred doubtful and uncertain.

*Scripturam sacram probari redduntur dubii & incerti.*

The Glosser there saith, *Whence comes this consequence?* and refers to another place; where he makes it out thus; *that Faith can onely be proved by the Scripture, and therefore if the Authority of that be destroy'd, Faith would be taken away.*

The Roman Editors for an Antidote refer to Cardinal *Turrecremata*, who doth indeed speak of *Catholick Truths*, which are not to be found in the *Canon of Scripture*; and he quotes a passage in the *Canon Law* for it under the name of *Alex. 3. c. cum Martine Extrav. de Celebr. Missæ.* but in truth it is *Innoc. 3. Decretal. l. 3. Tit. 41.* and yet this will not prove what he aims at; for the Question was about the Authour of the Words added in the Eucharist to those of Christ's Institution; and he pleads that many of Christ's words and actions are omitted by the Evangelists, which the Apostles afterwards set down; and he instances in Saint Paul, as to those words of Christ, *It is more blessed to give than to receive*; and elsewhere. But what is all this to Catholick Truths not being contained in Scripture either in words or by consequence? The Cardinal was here very much to seek, when he had nothing but such a Testimony as this to produce in so weighty and so new a Doctrine. The best Argument he produces is,

a horrible blunder of *Gratian's*, where *S. Augustin* seems to reckon the Decretal Epistles equal with the Scriptures, *Dist. 19. c. in Canonicis*; which the Roman Correctors were ashamed of, and confess that *S. Augustin* speaks onely of Canonical Epistles in Scripture. So hard must they strain, who among Christians would set up any other Rule equal with the Written Word.

4. I proceed to prove this from the ancient Offices of the Roman Church.

*Extrav. Joh. 22. Cum inter Gloss. per consequens. Turrecrem. de Ecclesia, l. 4. par. 2. c. 9.*

*Turrecrem. l. 2. c. 18.*

Morin. de  
Ordinat. Sa-  
cris, p. 275.

In the Office produced by *Morinus* out of the Vatican MS. which he saith was very ancient; the Bishop before his Consecration was asked, *If he would accommodate all his prudence, to the best of his skill, to the Sense of Holy Scripture?*

Resp. *Yes, I will with all my heart consent, and obey it in all things.*

Inter. *Wilt thou teach the People by Word and Example, the things which thou learnest out of holy Scriptures?*

Resp. *I will.*

Morin p. 333.

And then immediately follows the *Examen* about Manners. In another old Office of *S. Victor's*, there are the same Questions in the same manner.

Mabillon A.  
nals. To. 2.  
p. 458.

And so in another of the Church of *Rouen* lately produced by *Mabillon*, which he saith was about *William* the Conquerour's time, there is not a word about *Traditions*; which crept into the *Ordo Romanus*, and from thence hath been continued in the Roman Pontificals. But it is observable, that the *Ordo Romanus* owns that the *Examen* was originally taken out of the Gallican Offices, (although it does not appear in those imperfect ones lately published at *Rome* by *Thomasius*) and therefore we may justly suspect that the additional Questions about Traditions were the Roman Interpolations, after it came to be used in that Pontifical.

And the first Office in *Morinus* was the true ancient Gallican Office. But if Tradition had been then owned as a Rule of Faith, it ought no more to have been omitted in the ancient Offices than in the modern.

Amalaricus de  
Officiis, l. 3.  
c. 5.

And the ancient Writers about Ecclesiastical Offices speak very agreeably to the most ancient Offices about this matter. *Amalaricus* saith the Gospel is the Fountain of Wisdom; and that the Preachers ought to prove the  
Evan.

*Evangelical Truth out of the sacred Books. Ifidore, that we ought to think nothing (as to matters of Faith) but what is contained in the two Testaments. Rabanus Maurus, that the knowledge of the Scriptures is the foundation and perfection of Prudence, That Truth and Wisdom are to be tried by them; and the perfect instruction of Life is contained in them. Our Venerable Bede agrees with them, when he saith, that the true Teachers take out of the Scriptures of the old and new Testament that which they preach: and therefore have their minds employ'd in finding out the true meaning of them.*

Ifidore. de Of-  
fic. l. 2. c. 23.

Rab. Maur.  
de Inst. Cler.  
l. 3. c. 2.  
l. 2. c. 53.

Bede. in Cant.  
l. 5.  
De Taberna-  
culo l. 1. c. 6.

5. I now come to the *Fathers*; wherein I am in great measure prevented by a late Discourse, wherein it is at large shewed that the *Fathers* made use of no other Rule but the *Scriptures* for deciding Controversies; therefore I shall take another method, which is to shew that those who do speak most advantageously of *Tradition*, did not intend to set up another Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture.

Vindic. of the  
Answ. to some  
late Papers.

And here I shall pass over all those Testimonies of *Fathers* which speak either of *Tradition* before the *Canon of Scripture*, or to those who did not receive it, or of the *Tradition of Scripture* it self, or of some *Rites and Customs* of the *Church*, as wholly impertinent. - And when these are cut off, there remain scarce any to be considered, besides that of *Vincentius Lerinenfis*, and one Testimony of *S. Basil*.

I begin with *Vincentius Lerinenfis*, who by some is thought so great a Favourer of *Tradition*; but he saith not a word of it as a Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture; for he asserts the *Canon of Scripture to be sufficient of it self for all things*. How can that be, if *Tradition* be a Rule of Faith distinct from it? He makes indeed Catholick Tradition the best Interpreter of Scripture;

Commonit. 1.  
c. 2.  
Cum sit per-  
fectus Scrip-  
turarum Ca-  
non sibiq; ad  
omnia satis  
superq; suffi-  
ciat.

and

and we have no reason to decline it in the Points in dispute between us, if *Vincentius* his Rules be follow'd.

1. *If Antiquity, Universality and Consent be joyned.*
2. *If the difference be observed between old Errors and new ones.* For, saith he, when they had length of time, Truth is more easily concealed, by those who are concerned to suppress it. And in those Cases we have no other way to deal with them, but by Scripture and ancient Councils. And this is the Rule we profess to hold to.

But to suppose any one part of the Church to assume to it self the Title of Catholick, and then to determine what is to be held for Catholick Tradition by all Members of the Catholick Church, is a thing in it self unreasonable, and leaves that part under an impossibility of being reclaimed. For in case the Corrupt Part be judge, we may be sure no Corruptions will be ever owned. *Vincentius* grants that *Arianism* had once extremely the advantage in Point of Universality, and had many Councils of its side; if now the prevailing Party be to judge of *Catholick Tradition*, and all are bound to submit to its Decrees without farther Examination, as the Authour of the *Guide in Controversies* saith upon these Rules of *Vincentius*; then I say all men were then bound to declare themselves *Arians*. For if the *Guides of the present Church* are to be trusted and relied upon for the Doctrine of the Apostolical Church downwards; how was it possible for any Members of the Church then to oppose *Arianism*, and to reform the Church after its prevalency? To say it was condemned by a former Council, doth by no means clear the difficulty; For the present *Guides must be trusted*, whether they were rightly condemned or not; and nothing can be more certain, than that they would be sure to condemn those who condemned them. But

*Vincent-*

Of the Necessi-  
ty of Church-  
Guides p. 201.

p. 199.

*Vincentius* saith, Every true Lover of Christ preferred the ancient Faith before the novel betraying of it; but then he must chuse this ancient Faith against the judgment of the present Guides of the Church. And therefore that, according to *Vincentius*, can be no Infallible Rule of Faith.

But whether the present Universality dissents from Antiquity, whose Judgment should be sooner taken than its own? saith the same Authour, This had been an excellent Argument in the mouth of *Ursacius* or *Valens* at the Council of *Ariminum*; and I do not see what Answer the Guide in Controversies could have made. But both are Parties, and is not the Councils Judgment to be taken rather than a few Opposers? So that, for all that I can find by these Principles, *Arianism* having the greater number, had hard luck not to be established as the Catholick Faith. But if in that case, particular Persons were to judge between the New and the Old Faith, then the same Reason will still hold, unless the Guides of the Church have obtained a new Patent of Infallibility since that time.

The great Question among us, is, Where the true ancient Faith is; and how we may come to find it out? We are willing to follow the ancient Rules in this matter. The Scripture is allowed to be an Infallible Rule on all hands; and I am proving that Tradition was not allowed in the ancient Church as distinct from it. But the present Question is, how far Tradition is to be allowed in giving the Sense of Scripture between us. *Vincentius* saith, we ought to follow it when there is Antiquity, Universality and Consent: This we are willing to be tried by. But here comes another Question, Who is to be Judge of these? The present Guides of the Catholick Church? To what purpose then are all those Rules? Will they condemn them-

p. 199.

themselves? Or, as the *Guide* admirably saith, *If the present Universality be its own Judge, when can we think it will witness its departure from the true Faith?* And if it will not, what a Case is the Church in, under such a pretended *Universality*?

The utmost use I can suppose then, *Vincentius* his Rules can be of to us now, is in that Case which he puts when Corruptions and Errours have had time to take root and fasten themselves; and that is, *By an Appeal to Scripture and Ancient Councils*. But because of the charge of Innovation upon us, we are content to be tried by his second Rule. *By the Consent of the Fathers of greatest Reputation, who are agreed on all hands to have lived and died in the Communion of the Catholick Church: and what they delivered freely, constantly and unanimously, let that be taken for the undoubted and certain Rule in judging between us.* But if the present Guides must come in to be Judges here again, then all our labour is lost, and *Vincentius* his Rules signifie just nothing,

*Tabula Suf-  
fragial. p. 54.*

The Testimony of *S. Basil* is by *Mr. White* magnified above the rest, and that out of his Book *de Spiritu Sancto* above all others, to prove that the Certainty of Faith depends on Tradition; and not merely on Scripture. The force of it is said to lye in this, *that the practice of the Church, in saying, with the holy Spirit, though not found in Scripture is to determine the Sense of the Article of Faith about the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.* But to clear this place, we are to observe,

I. That *S. Basil* doth not insist on Tradition for the Proof of the Article of Faith, for he expressly disowns it in that Book; *It is not enough*, saith he,

ἢ ἂν ἡ τῶν ἡμῶν ἑξακῆς, ὅτι  
οἱ πατέρες ἡ παράδοσις, καὶ οὐκ  
οὐδὲ τὸ βυζάντιον τὸ γράμματι καὶ  
οὐκ, ἐκ τῆς μαρτυρίας, ὡς μικρῶν

*that we have it by Tradition from our Fathers; for our Fathers had it from the Will of God in Scripture, as appears by*  
*thise*



those Testimonies I have set down already, which they took for their Foundations. Nothing can be plainer than that S. Basil

οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν παραστήσαντα, τὰς ἀρχὰς καθέστηκεν. De Sp. Sancto c. 7.

made Scripture alone the Foundation of Faith as to this Point. And no one upon all Occasions speaks more expressly than he doth as to the Sufficiency of Scripture for a Rule of Faith; and he was too great, and too wise a Man to contradict himself.

De vera fide, p. 386. A. C. p. 391. C.

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Apost. Reg. 26. Reg. 80. c. 22.

De Sp. Sancto c. 9.

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p. 199.

themselves? Or, as the *Guide* admirably saith, *If the present Universality be its own Judge, how can we think it will witness its departure from the true Faith?* And if it will not, what a Case is the Church in, under such a pretended *Universality*?

The utmost use I can suppose then, *Vincentius* his Rules can be of to us now, is in that Case which he puts when Corruptions and Errours have had time to take root and fasten themselves; and that is, *By an Appeal to Scripture and Ancient Councils*. But because of the charge of Innovation upon us, we are content to be tried by his second Rule. *By the Consent of the Fathers of greatest Reputation, who are agreed on all hands to have lived and died in the Communion of the Catholick Church: and what they delivered freely, constantly and unanimously, let that be taken for the undoubted and certain Rule in judging between us.* But if the present Guides must come in to be Judges here again, then all our labour is lost, and *Vincentius* his Rules signifie just nothing.

*Tabulae Suf-  
fragial. p. 54.*

The Testimony of *S. Basil* is by *Mr. White* magnified above the rest, and that out of his Book *de Spiritu Sancto* above all others, to prove that the Certainty of Faith depends on Tradition; and not merely on Scripture. The force of it is said to lye in this, *that the practice of the Church, in saying, with the holy Spirit, though not found in Scripture is to determine the Sense of the Article of Faith about the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.* But to clear this place, we are to observe,

I. That *S. Basil* doth not insist on Tradition for the Proof of the Article of Faith, for he expressly disowns it in that Book; *It is not enough, saith he, that we have it by Tradition from our Fathers; for our Fathers had it from the Will of God in Scripture, as appears by this*

Ἡ ἈΓΓΛΙΑ ἡ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν ἐξαρκεῖ, ἐπὶ  
τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ περὶ τοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς  
ὅτι τὸ βυλῆμα ἡ τὸ γραφὴν ἡ κοινὴ  
οὐκ, ἐκ τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἡς μικρῆς

those Testimonies I have set down already, which they took for their Foundations. Nothing can be plainer than that S. Basil

οὐδὲν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπαρὼν κατὰ τὴν  
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## II. About the Canon of Scripture, defined by the Council of Trent.

This is declared by the Council of Trent, *Sess. 4.* and therein the Books of *Tobias, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees* and *Baruch* are received for *Canonical*, with the twentytwo Books in the *Hebrew Canon*, and an *Anathema* is denounced against those who do not. And presently it adds, *that hereby the World might see what Authorities the Council proceeded on for confirming matters of Faith as well as reforming manners.*

Now to shew that there was no *Catholick Tradition* for the ground of this Decree, we are to observe,

1. That these *Canonical Books* are not so called in a large sense for such as have been used or read in the Church; but in the strict sense for such as are a good *Foundation* to build matters of Faith upon.

2. That these Books were not so received by all even in the Council of Trent. For what is received by virtue of a *Catholick Tradition*, must be universally received by the Members of it. But that so it was not appears by the account given by both the Historians. *F. Paul* saith, *that in the Congregation there were two different Opinions of those who were for a particular Catalogue; one was to distinguish the Books into three parts, the other to make all the Books of equal authority; and that this latter was carried by the greater number.* Now if this were a *Catholick Tradition*, how was it possible for the Fathers of the Council to divide about it? And Cardinal *Pallavicini* himself saith, *that Bertanus and Seripandus propounded the putting the Books into several Classes, some to be read for Piety, and others to confirm Doctrines of Faith; and that Cardinal Seripando wrote a most learned*

*Hist. of the  
Council of Tr.  
l. 2. p. 154.*

*Ibid. l. 6.  
c. 11. p. 4.*

ned Book to that purpose. What ! against a *Catholick Tradition* ? It seems, he was far from believing it to be so. And he confesses, *that when they came to the Anathema, the Legats and twenty Fathers were for it ; Madrucci and fourteen were against it, because some Catholicks were of another opinion.* Then certainly, they knew no *Catholick Tradition* for it.

p. 8.

Among these Cardinal *Cajetan* is mention'd, who was, saith *Pallavicini*, severely rebuked for it by *Melchior Canus* ; but what is that to the *Tradition* of the Church ?

*Canus* doth indeed appeal to the Council of *Carthage*, *Innocentius I.* and the Council of *Florence* ; but this doth not make up a *Catholick Tradition* against *Cajetan* ; who

Can. Loc.

Theol. l. 2.

c. 11.

declares that he follows *S. Jerom*, who cast those Books out of the *Canon* with Respect to Faith. And he answers

Cajet. in Eccl. fine.

the Arguments brought on the other side, by this distinction, that they are *Canonical for Edification, but not for Faith.* If therefore *Canus* would have confuted *Cajetan* he ought to have proved that they were owned

Ad Ester c. 10. ad fin.

for *Canonical* in the latter Sense. *Cajetan* in his Epistle to *Clemens VII.* before the Historical Books, owns the

great Obligation of the Church to *S. Jerom* for distinguishing *Canonical and Apocryphal Books* ; and saith, *that he hath freed it from the Reproach of the Jews, who said the Christians made Canonical Books of the Old Testament which they knew nothing of.* And this was an Argument of great consequence ; but *Canus* takes no notice of it, and it fully answers his Objection, *that men could not know what Books were truly Canonical, viz. such as were of divine inspiration, and so received by the Jews.*

*Catharinus* saith, in Answer to *Cajetan*, *that the Jews had one Canon, and the Church another.* But how comes the Canon to be received as of *divine Inspiration* which

Annot. in Cajet. l. 1. p. 37.

was not so received among the Jews ? This were to resolve

solve

solve all into the Churches *Inspiration* and not into *Tradition*.

De Verb. Dei,  
l. 1. c. 11.

*Bellarmin* grants, that the Church can by no means make a Book Canonical which is not so, but onely declare what is Canonical, and that, not at pleasure; but from ancient Testimonies, from similitude of style with Books uncontroversed, and the general Sense and Taste of Christian People. Now the Case here relates to Books not first written to Christians, but among the Jews, from whom we receive the Oracles of God committed to them. And if the Jews never believed these Books to contain the Oracles of God in them, how can the Christian Church embrace them for such, unless it assumes a Power to make, and not merely to declare Canonical Books? For he grants we have no Testimony of the Jews for them.

Jul. Ruger.  
de libris Canonis, p. 80.

But *Catharinus* himself cannot deny that *S. Jerom* saith, that although the Church reads those Books, yet it doth not receive them for Canonical Scriptures. And he makes a pitifull Answer to it. For he confesses, that the Church taken for the Body of the Faithfull did not receive them; but as taken for the Governours it did. But others grant that they did receive them no more than the People; and as to the other, the cause of Tradition is plainly given us. And in truth he resolves all at last into the opinion of the Popes *Innocentius*, *Gelasius* and *Eugenius* 4. But we are obliged to him for letting us know the Secret of so much zeal for these Apocryphal Books, viz. that they are of great force against the Hericks, for Purgatory is nowhere so expressly mention'd as in the Maccabees. If it had not been for this, *S. Jerom* and *Cajetan* might have escaped Censure, and the Jewish Canon had been sufficient.

p. 41.

But



But to shew, that there hath been no *Catholick Tradition* about the *Tridentine Canon*, I shall prove these two things:

1. That there hath been a *constant Tradition* against it in the *Eastern Church*.

2. That there never was a *constant Tradition* for it in the *Western Church*.

1. That there hath been a *constant Tradition* against it in the *Eastern Church*, which received the *Jewish Canon*, without the Books declared *Canonical* by the *Council of Trent*. We have very early Evidence of this in the Testimony of *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, who lived not long after the middle of the 2d. Century, and made it his business to enquire into this matter, and he delivers but *Euseb. l. 4. c. 25.* 22 Books of the *Old Testament*. The same is done by *Origen* in the next, who took infinite Pains, as *Eusebius* *l. 6. c. 25. Philocal. c. 3.* faith, in searching after the *Copies* of the *Old Testament*. And these Testimonies are preserved by *Eusebius* in the following Century: and himself declares,

that there was no sacred Book among the Jews from the time of *Zorobabel*; which cuts off the Books canonized by the *Council of Trent*. In the same Age we have the Testimonies of *Athanasius*, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, *Epiphanius*, *S. Basil*, *S. Gregory Nazianzene*, *Amphilochius* and *S. Chrysostom*: It is not to be imagined that a *Tradition* should be better attested

in one Age than this was, by so considerable Men in different Churches, who give in the Testimony of all those Churches they belonged to. And yet besides these we have in that Age a concurrent Testimony of a Council of Bishops at *Laodicea*, from several Provinces of *Asia*; and which is yet more, this *Canon* of theirs was received into

*Euseb. Demonstr. l. 8. p. 368.*

*Chronic. Gr. p. 172.*

*Athanas. Ep. 39. Cyril. Catech. 4. Epiph. de mensuris & ponder. Basil. in Origen. Philocal. Greg. Nazianzen. in Carm. Amph. in Canon. Ep. apud Balsam. S. Chrysost. in Gen. hom. 4.*

*Conc. Laodicea, c. 59.*

Novel. 131.

Leont. de  
Sedit. Aft. 2.  
Damascen. de  
Fide, lib. 4.  
c. 18.

Niceph Chro-  
nogr. p. 419.

Anastaf. Hist.  
p. 189.  
Not. in Can.  
27. Carthag.  
Niceph. in  
Epigram.  
Metroph.  
Confess. c. 7.  
p. 82.  
Phil. Cyprii  
Chronic. Ec-  
clesi. Græc.  
p. 459.

the *Code* of the *Catholick Church*; and so owned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, which by its first Canon gives Authority to it. And *Justinian* allows the force of *Laws* to the *Canons* which were either made or confirmed by the four *General Councils*. But it is the point of *Tradition* I am upon; and therefore *Justinian's Novel* may at least be a strong Evidence of that in the 6th Century: In the 7th, *Leontius* gives his own Testimony, and that of *Theodorus*. In the 8th, *Damascen* expressly owns the *Hebrew Canon* of 22 Books, and excludes by name some of the Books made *Canonical* at *Trent*. In the 9th we have the Testimony of *Nicephorus*, *Patriarch of Constantinople*, if he be the Authour of the *Laterculus*, at the end of his *Chronography*; but if he be not, he must be an Authour of that Age, being translated by *Anastafus Bibliothecarius*. In the 12th, *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* refer to the Council of *Laodicea*, and the *Greek Fathers*. In the 14th, *Nicephorus Calisthus* reckons but 22 Books of the *Old Testament*. And in this Age, we have the clear Testimony of *Metrophanes*, (afterwards *Patriarch of Alexandria*) who saith, *there are but 22 Canonical Books of the Old Testament; but the rest, i. e. Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and Machabees are usefull, and therefore not wholly to be rejected, but the Church never received them for Canonical and Authentical, as appears by many Testimonies, as, among others, of Gregory the Divine, Amphilochius and Damascen: and therefore we never prove matters of Faith out of them.*

2. Let us now compare this *Tradition* with that of the *Western Church* for the *New Canon* of *Trent*. It cannot be denied, that *Innocentius I.* and *Gelasius* did enlarge the Canon, and took in the *Apocryphal Books* (unless we call in question the Writings under their Names;) but granting them genuine, I shall shew that there is no comparison

rison between this *Tradition* and that of the *Eastern Church*, and therefore there could be no possible Reason for the Council of *Trent* to make a Decree for this *Tradition*, and to *anathematize* all who did not submit to it. For,

1. This *Tradition* was not *universally* received at that time. *Innocentius* his Epistle is supposed to be written A.D. 405. Was the Western Church agreed before or after about this matter? This Epistle was written to *Eru-perius*, a Gallican Bishop, ( to whom St. *Jerom* dedicated his Commentaries on *Zechariah*, ) but now it unluckily falls out, that the *Tradition* of the *Gallican Church* was contrary to this ; as appears by S. *Hilary*, ( who could not be ignorant of it , being a famous Bishop of that Church ) and he tells us , *there were but 22 Canonical Books of the Old Testament*. I confess he saith, *some were for adding Tobit and Judith*, but it is very observable that he saith, *that the other Account is most agreeable to ancient Tradition*, which is a mighty Argument against *Innocentius*, who brings no Tradition to justify his Canon. When St. *Augustin* produced a Place out of the Book of *Wisdom*, the Divines of *Marseilles* rejected it ; *because the Book was not Canonical* : Therefore in that time *Innocent's* Canon was by no means received in the *Gallican Church* ; for by it this Book was made *Canonical*. But S. *Jerom*, who had as much learning as Pope *Innocent*, vehemently opposed this *New Canon* more than once or ten times ; and not onely speaks of the *Jewish Canon*, but of the *Canon of the Church*. The Church, saith he, *reads the Books of Tobit, Judith and Machabees, but the Church doth not receive them among Canonical Scriptures*. What Church doth he mean? Not the *Synagogue* certainly. Pope *Innocent* saith, *Those Books are to be received into the Canon* ; S. *Jerom* saith, *the Church doth not receive them, but that they are to be cast out* ; Where is the Certainty

Hilar. Prolog.  
in Psalm.

De Prædest.  
Sanctor. c. 14.

Prolog. Gal.  
Prolog. in lib.  
Salom. ad  
Paul. & Eust.  
ad Chironat.

of Tradition to be found? If *Innocent* were in the right, *S. Jerom* was foully mistaken, and in plain terms belied the Church. But how is this consistent with the *Saintship* of *St. Jerom*? Or with common discretion if the Church did receive those Books for Canonical? For every one could have disproved him. And it required no great Judgment or deep Learning to know what Books were received, and what not. If *S. Jerom* were so mistaken (which it is very hard to believe) how came *Ruffinus* not to observe his errors and opposition to the Church? Nay, how came *Ruffinus* himself to fall into the very same prodigious mistake? For he not onely rejects the controverted Books out of the *Canon*, but saith, *he follow'd the ancient Tradition therein*. What account can be given of this matter? If *Innocent's* Tradition were right, these men were under a gross Delusion; and yet they were learned and knowing Persons, and more than ordinarily conversant in the *Doctrines and Traditions* of the Church.

*Ruffin. in  
Symbol. pag.  
188, 189.*

*Greg. Moral.  
in Job. l. 19.  
c. 17.*

*Can. Loc. Theol.  
l. 2. c. 11.  
ad 4.  
Cath. de Canonis  
Scrip. in Opuscul.  
p. 302.*

2. This Opinion was not received as a *Tradition* of the Church afterwards. For, if it had been, how could *Gregory I.* reject the Book of *Machabees* out of the *Canon*, when two of his Predecessours took it in? It is somewhat hard, to suppose one Pope to contradict two of his Predecessours about the *Canon of Scripture*; yet I see not how to avoid it; nor how it is consistent with the *Constancy of Tradition*, much less with the pretence to *Infallibility*. He did not merely doubt, as *Canus* would have it thought, but he plainly excludes them out of the Canon. *Catharinus* thinks *he follow'd S. Jerom*. What then? Doth this exclude his contradicting his Predecessours? Or was *S. Jerom's* Judgment above the Pope's? But it was not *S. Gregory* alone who contradicted the former Popes Canon; for it was not received either in

*Italy*

*Italy, Spain, France, Germany or England; and yet no doubt it was a very Catholick Tradition.*

Not in *Italy*; for there *Cassiodore*, a learned and devout Man in the next Century to them, gives an account of the Canon of Scripture, and he takes not any notice either of *Innocent* or *Gelasius*. He first sets down the Order of Scripture according to *S. Jerom*; and then according to *S. Augustin*; and in the last place, according to the old Translation and the *LXX.* and where himself speaks of the *Apocryphal Books* before, he follows *S. Jerom's Opinion*, that they were written rather for manners than Doctrine. He confesses there was a difference about the Canon; but he goes about to excuse it. But what need that if there were a *Catholick Tradition* then in the Church concerning it, and that enforced by two Popes?

*Cassiodor. de Instit. Divin. liter. cap. 12, 13, 14. c. 6.*

But it may yet seem stranger, that even in *Italy*, one canonized for a Saint by *Clemens VII.* should follow *S. Jerom's Opinion* in this matter, viz. *S. Antoninus*, Bishop of *Florence*. Who speaking of *Ecclesiasticus* received into the Canon of the two Popes, he saith, it is only received by the Church to be read, and is not authentick to prove any thing in matters of Faith. He that writes Notes upon him, saith, that he follows *S. Jerom*, and must be understood of the Eastern Church; for the Western Church always receiv'd these Books into the Canon. But he speaks not one word of the Eastern Church; and by the Church he could understand nothing but what he accounted the Catholick Church. *Canus* allows *Antoninus* to have rejected these Books; but he thinks the matter not so clear, but then they might doubt concerning it. Then there was no such Evidence of Tradition to convince men. But *Antoninus* hath preserved the Judgment of a greater man concerning these Books even *Thomas Aqui-*

*S. Antonin. Sum. Hist. P. 1. Tit. 3. c. 4.*

*Can. Loc. Theol. l. 2. c. 11.*

*Part. 3. Tit. 18. c. 6. Self. 2, & 3.*

*nas*, who in 2. <sup>da.</sup> he saith, *denied these Books to have such authority as to prove any matter of Faith by them:* which is directly contrary to the Council of *Trent*. If this passage be not now to be found in him, we know whom to blame for it. If *Antoninus* saw it there, we hope his word may be taken for it.

*Eur. in Adait.*  
*ad Lyram ad*  
*c. 1. Ester.*  
*& 7.*  
*Tostat. in*  
*Matt. Prof.*  
*q. 1. 2.*  
*Xim. Prof.*  
*ad Bib. Comp.*

In *Spain*, we have for the Hebrew Canon the Testimonies of *Paulus Burgenfis*, *Tostatus*, and Cardinal *Ximenes*.

In *France*, of *Victorinus*, *Agobardus*, *Radulphus Flaviacensis*, *Petrus Cluniacensis*, *Hugo de S. Victore*, and *Richard de S. Victore*, *Lyra* and others.

In *Germany*, of *Rabanus Maurus*, *Strabus*, *Rupertus*, *Hermannus Contractus* and others.

In *England*, of *Bede*, *Alcvin*, *Sarisburiensis*, *Ockam*, *Waldensis* and others. Whom I barely mention, because their Testimonies are at large in Bishop *Cosins* his *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*, and no man hath yet had the hardiness to undertake that Book.

These I think are sufficient to shew there was no *Catholick Tradition* for the Decree of the Council of *Trent* about the *Canon of Scripture*.

I now proceed to shew on what pretences and colours it came in, and by what degrees and steps it advanced.

1. The first step was, the Esteem which some of the Fathers expressed of these Books in quoting of passages out of them. We do not deny that the Fathers did frequently cite them: even those who expressly rejected them from being *Canonical*, and not as ordinary Books, but as such as were usefull to the Church, wherein many wise Sayings and good Actions are recorded. But the many Quotations the Fathers do make out of them is the only plausible pretence which those of the Church of



of Rome have to defend the putting them into the Canon, as appears by *Bellarmin* and others. The Book of *Tobit*, they tell us, is mentioned by *S. Cyprian*, *S. Ambrose*, *St. Basil*, and *St. Augustin*. Of *Judith* by *St. Jerom* who mentions a Tradition that it was allowed in the Council of Nice; but certainly *S. Jerom* never believed it, when he declares it to be *Apocryphal*, and not sufficient to prove any matter of Faith. The Book of *Wisdom* by *S. Cyprian*, *S. Cyril* and *S. Augustin*. *Ecclesiasticus* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *S. Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *S. Ambrose* and *S. Augustin*. The *Machabees* by *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Augustin*. But all these Testimonies onely prove that they thought something in those Books worth alledging, but not that they judged the Books themselves *Canonical*. And better Arguments from their Citations might be brought for the Books of the *Sibylls* than for any of these. We are not then to judge of their Opinion of *Canonical Books* by bare Citations, but by their declared Judgments about them.

2. The next step was, when they came to be read in Churches; but about this there was no certain Rule. For the Councils of *Laodicea* and *Carthage* differed chiefly upon this Point. The former decreed, *That none but Canonical Scripture should be read under the Name of Holy Writings*; and sets down the names of the *Canonical Books then to be read*, (and so leaves out the *Apocalypse*.) The latter from their being read, inferr'd their being *Canonical*; for it agrees with the other, *that none but Canonical should be read*, and because these were read, it reckons them up with the *Canonical Books*; for so the Canon concludes, *We have received from our Fathers that these Books are to be read in Churches*.

But

But the Council of *Carthage* was not peremptory in this matter ; but desired *it might be referred to Boniface and other Bishops beyond the Seas* : Which shews that here was no Decree absolutely made , nor any *Certainty of Tradition* ; for then to what purpose should they send to other Churches to advise about it ?

3. When they came to be distinguished from *Apocryphal Writings*. Whence those who do not consider the Reason of it, conclude them to have been *Canonical*. But sometimes *Apocryphal* signified such Books as were not in the *Canon of Faith*, as in the Authours before mentioned ; sometimes such Books which *were not allowed to be used among Christians*. This distinction we have in *Rufinus*, who saith there are three sorts of Books ; *Canonical*, as the 22 of the *Old Testament* ; *Ecclesiastical*, of which sort he reckons *Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith and Machabees*, and these he saith *were permitted to be read in Churches*, but no Argument could be brought out of them for matter of Faith , *Apocryphal* are such which *by no means were permitted to be read*. And thus *Innocentius* his words may well be understood : For he concludes with saying, *that other Writings were not onely to be rejected, but to be condemned*. And so his meaning is to distinguish them from such counterfeit *Divine Writings* as were then abroad. For these were not to be wholly rejected, and in that large sense he admits them into the *Canon*, taking *Ecclesiastical Writings* which were read in Churches into that number. And in this sense *S. Augustin* used the Word *Apocryphal*, when the Book of *Enoch* is so called by him , and such other counterfeit *Writings* under the Names of the *Prophets and Apostles* ; but eliewhere he distinguishes between the *Canonical Books of Salomon, and those which bear his Name* ; which he saith *the more learned know not to be his, but the Western*

Aug. de Civ.  
Dei, lib. 15.  
c. 23.  
l. 17. c. 20.

*stein Church had of old owned their Authority. But in the case of the Book of Enoch, he appeals to the Canon, which was kept in the Jewish Temple; and so falls in with S. Jerom; and he confesses it is hard to justify the Authority of those which are not in the Hebrew Canon. Of the Machabees he saith, It is distinguished from the Writings called Canonical; but it is received by the Church as such.*

Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 35.

What! to confirm matters of Faith? No. But for the glorious sufferings therein recorded; and elsewhere he saith, it is usefull, if it be soberly read. S. Augustin knew very well that all Books were not received alike; and that many were received in some parts of the Western Church from the old Translation out of the LXX, which were not received in the Eastern; and therefore in his Books of Christian Doctrine he gives Rules in judging of Canonical Books; to follow the Authority of the greatest Number of Catholick Churches, especially the Apostolical; and that those which were received by all, should be preferred before those which were onely received by some. But he very well knew, that the Hebrew Canon was universally received, and that the controverted Books were not; and therefore, according to his Rule, these could never be of Equal Authority with the other.

De Doctr. l. 3. c. 8.

4. When the Roman Church declared that it received the controverted Books into the Canon. This is said to have been done by Gelasius, with his Synod of LXX Bishops, (and yet it is hard to understand how Gregory so soon after should contradict it.) The Title of it in the old MS. produced by Chiffletius, and by him attributed to Hormisdas, is, *The Order of the Old Testament which the holy Catholick Roman Church receives and honours is this.* But whether by Gelasius, or Hormisdas, I cannot understand, why such a Decree as this should not be put into the old Roman Code of Canons, if it had been then

Not. in Vigil. Tapf. p. 150.

made. That there was such a one appears by the Copies of it in the *Vatican*, mentioned by the *Roman* Correctors of *Gratian*, and by mention of it by the Canon *Si Romanorum*, *Dist.* 19. and *De Libellis*, *Dist.* 20. and by the latter we understand what Canons of Councils and Decrees of Popes are in it, among whom are both *Gelasius* and *Hormisdas*. This they agree to be the same with that published by *Wendelstin* at *Mentz*, 1525. The Epistle of *Innocentius* to *Exuperius* with the Canon is there published; but not the other; and so is the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*; but that of *Laodicea* is cut off; and so they are in that published by *Dionysius Exiguus* and *Quesnell*, (*Iustellus* his ancient Copy was imperfect there,) but both these Canons being in the *Roman Code*, are an Argument to me, that the controverted Books were received by the *Roman Church* at that time; but in such a manner, that *S. Jerom's* Prologues still stood in the vulgar *Latin Bible*, with the Commentaries of *Eyra*, and Additions of *Burgensis*, which were still for the *Hebrew Canon*; and *S. Jerom's* Authority prevailed more than the Pope's, as appears fully by what hath been already produced.

5. To advance the Authority of these Books one step higher, *Eugenius IV.* declared them to be Part of the Canon in the Instruction given to the *Armenians*. Which the *Roman Writers* pretend to have been done in the Council of *Florence*: But *Naclantus* Bishop of *Chioza*, in the Council of *Trent*, as *Pallavicini* saith, denied that any such Decree was made by the Council of *Florence*; because the last Session of it ended 1439. and that Decree was signed Feb. 4. 1441. To this the Legat replied, that this was a mistake occasioned by *Abraham Cretenis*, who published the *Latin version* of it, onely till the *Greeks* departure; but the Council continued three years longer, as appeared by the

*Hist. Concil.*  
*Trident. l. 6.*  
*c. 11. n. 12.*

the *Extracts* of Augustinus Patricius, since published in the *Tomes* of the Councils. But he never mentions the *Canon of Scripture*; however, because *Cervinus* affirms that he saw the Original signed by the Pope and Cardinals, we have no reason to dispute it. But then it appears how very little it signified, when *Antoninus* the Bishop of *Florence* opposed it, and Cardinal *Ximenes* and Cardinal *Cajetan* slighted it, and all who embraced the Council of *Basil* looked on *Eugenius* his Decree as void; and after all, that very Decree onely joins the *Apocryphal Books* in the same *Canon*, as the Council of *Carthage* had done; but it was reserved as the peculiar Honour of the Council of *Trent* to declare that *Matters of Faith* might be proved out of them, as well as out of any *Canonical Scriptures*.

### III. About the Free Use of the Scripture in the vulgar Language, prohibited by the Council of Trent.

To understand the Sense of the Council of *Trent* in this matter, we must consider;

I. That it declares the vulgar Latin to be Authentick; i. e. that no man under any pretence shall dare to presume to reject it. Suppose the pretence be that it differs from the Original; no matter for that, he must not reject that which the Council hath declared Authentick, i. e. among the *Latin Editions*. But suppose a Man finds other Latin Translations truer in some parts, because they agree more with the Original Text, may he therein reject the vulgar Latin? By no means, if he thinks himself bound to adhere to the Council of *Trent*. But the Council supposes it to agree with the Original. And we must believe the Council therein. This is indeed the meaning

of the Council as far as I can judge. But what Catholick Tradition was there for this? *Tes for a thousand years after Gregory's time.* But this is not Antiquity enough to found a *Catholick Tradition* upon. If there were no more than a thousand from *Gregory*, there were six hundred past before him; so that there must be a more ancient Tradition in the Church, wherein this version was not *Authentick*; and how came it then to be *Authentick* by virtue of *Tradition*? Here then Tradition must be given up; and the Council of *Trent* must have some other ground to go upon. For I think the Traditionary Men will not maintain the *vulgar Latin* to have been always *Authentick*.

2. That it referred the making the *Index of prohibited Books to the Pope*; and in the 4th Rule of that *Index*, *All Persons are forbidden the use of the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue, without a particular Licence, and whosoever presumes to doe it without a faculty, unless he first gives up his Bible, he is not to receive Absolution.*

My business is now to enquire what *Catholick Tradition* the Pope and Council went upon in this *Prohibition*. But as to the Testimony of Fathers, I am prevented by some late Discourses on this Subject. In stead thereof therefore I shall,

1. Shew from their own Writers, that there could be no *Catholick Tradition* for such a Prohibition.

2. Prove the General Consent of the Catholick Church from publick Acts, as to the free use of the Scripture.

Sum. 1. q. 1.  
a. 9.

*Thomas Aquinas* grants that the Scripture was proposed to all, and in such a manner that the most rude might understand it. Therefore there was no Prohibition of such Persons reading it.

*Cajetan* there uses two Arguments for the Scriptures using *Metaphors and Similitudes*. 1. Because God provides



*wides for all. 2. Because the Scripture is tendred to all. And the common People are not capable of understanding spiritual things without such helps. If the Scripture were intended for all, how comes a Prohibition of the use of it?*

*Sixtus Senensis grants, that in former times the Scripture was translated into the vulgar Languages, and the People did commonly reade it, to their great Benefit. Then a Prohibition of it must alter the Churches practical Tradition.*

Sixt. Senens.  
Biblioth. l. 6.  
n. 152.

*Alphonsus à Castro yields to Erasmus, that the Scriptures were of old translated into the vulgar Tongues, and that the Fathers, such as S. Chrysostom, and S. Jerom, persuaded People to the reading them. But the Case is altered now, when such mischief comes by the Reading the Scriptures. And yet the Tradition of the Church continues the same, and is impossible to be changed.*

Alphonf. à  
Castro, l. 1.  
c. 13.

*Azorius puts the Case fairly; he grants that the Scriptures were at first written and published in the Common Language; that S. Chrysostom admits all to reade the Scriptures; and that the People did so then; but they do not now. But he saith, the People then understood Greek and Latin, and now they do not. If it were their own Language they might well understand it; but why should not the Scripture now be in a Language they may understand? For Greek and Latin did not make the common People one jot wiser or better; and yet this Man calls it a Herefse now to say, the Scriptures ought to be translated into vulgar Languages. How much is the Faith of the Church changed?*

Azor. Instit.  
Moral. l. 8.  
c. 25.

2. I am now to prove the General Consent of the Catholick Church in this matter from publick Acts, i. e. that all Parts of it have agreed in Translations of Scripture into Vulgar Languages without any such Prohibition.

If

If there had been any such thing in the Primitive Church, it would have held against the *Latin Translation* it self. For I hope none will say it was the *Original*, however *Authentick* it be made by the Council of *Trent*. How then came the Originals to be turned into the common Language? (as I suppose *Latin* will be allow'd to have been the common Language of the Roman Empire.) There is no Objection can now be made against any modern Translations, but would have held against the first *Latin Version*. Who the Authour of it was is utterly unknown; and both S. *Augustin* and S. *Jerom* say, *there was a great variety among the old Translations, and every one Translated as he thought fit*. So that there was no restraint laid upon translating into the common Language. And unless *Latin* were an infallible Guide to those that understood it, the People were as liable to be deceived in it, as either in *English* or *French*.

Aug. de Doctr.  
Christian. l. 2.  
c. 11.  
Hier. Pref. in  
Johann.

Socr. l. 4.  
c. 33.  
Soz. l. 6. c. 37.  
Nicep. l. 11.  
c. 48.  
Ibid. in Chron.  
Gothorum.  
Walaf. Strab.  
de Reb. Ecl.  
c. 7.

But it was not onely thus in the *Roman Empire*, but wherever a People were converted to Christianity in all the elder times, the Scripture was turned into their Language. The Ecclesiastical Historians mention the *Conversion* of the *Goths*, and upon that, the *Translation of the Bible into their Language by Ulphilas their Bishop*. *Walafridus Strabo* adds to this, *that besides the Bible, they had all publick Offices of Religion performed in their own Language*.

How soon the Churches in *Persia* were planted, it is impossible for us now to know; but in the *MS. Ecclesiastical History of Abulpharagius* (in the hands of Dr. *Lof-tus*) it is said, *that a Disciple of Thaddæus preached the Gospel in Persia, Assyria and the Parts thereabouts; and that by another Disciple of his 360 Churches were settled there in his time; and that he came to Seleucia, the Metropolis of the Persians, and there established a Church, where*

where he continued fifteen years. And from him there was a Succession of the Patriarchs of *Seleucia*, which continues still in the East; for upon destruction thereof by *Almansor*, they removed first to *Bagdad*, and after that to *Mozal* over against *Ninive*, where their residence hath been since; and this Patriarch had universal Jurisdiction over the *Eastern Churches* as far as the *East Indies*, as appears by *Morinus* his Books of *Ordinations* in the *East*, and the proceedings with the Christians of *St. Thomas* in the very end of the last Century.

But we are certain from the Greek Historians, that in *Constantine's* time the Christians in *Persia* were so numerous that he wrote to the King of *Persia* on their behalf.

*Eusebius* saith that *Constantine* was informed, that the Churches were much increased there, and great Multitudes were brought into Christ's Flock; and *Constantine* himself in his Letter to *Sapores* saith, the Christians flourished in the best parts of *Persia*; and he hoped they might continue so to doe.

But after *Constantine's* death a terrible Persecution befell them, wherein *Sozomen* saith, the Names of 16000 Martyrs were preserved, besides an innumerable Multitude of unknown persons. The sharpest part of the Persecution fell upon the Bishops and Presbyters; especially in *Adiabene*, which was almost wholly Christian, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith was the same with *Affyria*, wherein were *Ninive*, *Ecbatane*, *Arbela*, *Gaugamela*, *Babylon* (or *Seleucia*) and *Ctesiphon*, of which *Sozomen* saith, *Symeon* was then Archbishop. And he names above twenty Bishops who suffered besides, and one *Mareabdes* a *Chor-episcopus*, with 250 of his Clergy. After the time of *Sapores* several sharp Persecutions fell upon those Churches in the times of *Vararanes* and *Isdigerdes*, of which the Greek Historians take notice, and one of them, saith *Theodoret*, lasted thirty years. This I mention to shew what

*Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. 4. c. 8.*  
c. 13.

*Soz. l. 2. c. 14.*

c. 12.

*Ammianus Marcell. l. 23.*

*Soz. l. 2. c. 9.*

*Theod. l. 5. c. 39.*

Theod. de  
Cur. Grac.  
affest. Sermon.  
5. p. 555.  
Sermon. 9.  
p. 615.  
Chryſt in Joh.  
Hom. 2 p. 561.

what mean thoughts those have of the *Catholick Church* who confine it to the Roman Communion. *Theodoret* and *S. Chryſostom* both affirm *that the Persians had the Scriptures then in their own Language*; and *Sozomen* saith, *that Symeon Archbishop of Seleucia, and Ctesiphon before his own Martyrdom, encouraged the rest to suffer out of the holy Scriptures*. Which supposes them well acquainted with the Language of it, and it is not very likely they should be either with the Hebrew, Greek or Latin; but the other Testimonies make it clear that it was in their own Tongue.

Vit. Chryſ.  
c. 113.

The Anonymous Writer of *S. Chryſostom's* Life affirms, *that while he staid in Armenia, he caused the New Testament to be translated into the Armenian Tongue for the benefit of those Churches*. And this Tradition is allow'd by several learned Men in the Church of Rome. But the *Armenians* themselves say, *the whole Bible was translated into the Armenian Language by Moses Grammaticus, David and Mampræus, three learned Men of their own, in the time of their Patriarch Isaac, about S. Chryſostom's time*. *Theodoret*, in the place already cited, mentions the *Armenian Translation*, as a thing well known; and he was near enough to understand the truth of it.

Conc. Eccl.  
Armen. cum  
Rom. c. 7.  
p. 63.

Hist. Orient.  
c. 79.

*Jacobus de Vitriaco*, a Roman Cardinal, saith, *that the Armenians in his time had the Scriptures read to them in their own Language*.

The *Syriack Version* for the Use of those in the Eastern parts who understood not *Hebrew* or *Greek*, is allowed by all learned Men to have been very ancient. I mean the *old simple Version* out of the Originals, and not that out of the *LXX.* of the Old Testament. As to the New, the Tradition of the Eastern People is, *that it was done either in the Apostles times or very near them*. *Abraham Ecchellenſis* shews, from the *Syriack Writers*,  
that

that the Compleat Translation of the Bible was made in the time of Abgarus, King of Edessa, by the means of Thaddæus and the other Apostles; and as to the time of Thaddæus, Gregorius Malatiensis confirms it.

Abr. Ecchell.  
not. in Ebed.  
Jesu.

Greg. Hist.  
Dynast. 6.

Postellus quotes an ancient Tradition ( which my Adversaries ought to regard) that S. Mark himself Translated not only his own Gospel, but all the Books of the New Testament into the Vulgar Syriack. It is sufficient to my purpose, to shew that there was such an ancient Translation; which is owned by S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, S. Augustin, Diodorus and Theodoret: which makes me wonder at Cardinal Bellarmin's affirming with so much confidence, that none of the Fathers speak of the Syriack Version, when Theodoret alone mentions it so often in his Commentaries.

S. Chrysost. hom. 2. in Joh.  
Ambros. Hex. 1. c. 8.  
Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 13.  
Diod. ad Gen. 27. 27.  
Theod. in Psal. 3. 4.  
in Pf. 103. 26.  
in Pf. 112. 1.  
in Pf. 115.  
De Verb. Dei, l. 2. c. 4.

Although the Greeks in Egypt might very well understand the Greek of the Old and New Testament, ( especially if that which is called the LXX. were done by the Alexandrian Jews, as some imagine) yet those who knew no other than the old Egyptian Language could not make use of it. And therefore a Coptick Translation was made for them; which Kircher thinks to have been 1300 years old. And he withal observes, that their ancient Liturgies were in the Coptick Language.

Prodr. Copt.  
c. 8.

That it might not be suspected that Kircher imposed upon the World, he gives a particular account of the Books he had seen in the Vatican Library and elsewhere in the Coptick Tongue. The Pentateuch in three Tomes, distinguished into Paragraphs by lines. The four Gospels by themselves. S. Paul's Epistles and three Canonical Epistles with the Acts in another Volume. The Apocalypsa by itself; and the Psalter. The Liturgy of S. Mark with

other daily Prayers. The Liturgy of S. Gregory, with the Prayers of S. Cyril in the Coptick Language; and a Liturgy of S. Basil, with Gregory and Cyril, with several other Rituals, Missals and Prayers, all in the same Tongue. All these, he saith, are in the Vatican Library. And in that of the Maronites College, he saith, is an old Coptick Martyrology about 1300 years standing, by which he finds, that the chief imployment of the old Egyptian Monks was to translate the Bible out of Hebrew, Chaldee and Greek into the Coptick Tongue.

p. 186.

Differt. Epist. 13. Morinus saith, that in the Oratorian Library at Paris, they had the Coptick Gospels brought from Constantinople by Monfr. de Sancy.

Epist. 14.

Petrus à Valle, a Nobleman of Rome, and a great Traveller, saith he had several parts of Scripture in the Coptick Language; which were turned into Arabick, when the old Coptick grew into disuse.

Hottinger.  
Methurgem.  
p. 189.

Petrus had in the Eastern Parts a Coptick Psalter, with an Arabick Version, which he designed to publish.

The Congregation de propaganda Fide at Rome had several Coptick MSS. sent to them out of Egypt, among the rest the Coptick Book of Ordination Translated and Printed by Kircher; and since reprinted by Morinus.

De Ordinat.  
sacris, p. 504.  
Catal. MSS.  
p. 31.

Seguier the late Chancellour of France had in his Library, the Consecration of a Patriarch in Coptick and Arabick, and several Translations of the Bible, and Prayers in both Languages.

Ludolph.  
Hist. Ethiop.  
l. 3. c. 4.

The *Aethiopic* Translation bears date with the Conversion of the Nation, according to their own Tradition, which some make to be in the Apostolical times, and others in the time of Constantine; and their Publick Offices are performed in their own Tongue. The Chancellour Seguier had not only many parts of the Bible, but Prayers and Offices in the *Aethiopic* Tongue.

I shall



I shall add but one thing more to this purpose, which is taken from the want of Antiquity in the *Arabick Versions*; which is confessed by the learned Criticks on all sides. And even this tends to prove my design. For when the *Saracen* Empire prevailed, the People grew more acquainted with the *Arabick* than with the ancient *Syriack* or *Coptick*; and therefore the Scripture was then translated into *Arabick*; (as *Vasæus* saith it was done in *Spain* after the *Moors* came thither by a Bishop of *Sevil*) and this was the true reason why the *Arabick Versions* have no greater Antiquity. For *Gabriel Sionita* observes that the *Arabick* is become the most *Vulgar Language* in the *Eastern Parts*. And because it was so in *Syria* as well as *Egypt*, therefore there are different *Arabick Versions*; the one called *Codex Antiochenus*, and the other *Alexandrinus*.

Gabr. Sionita  
de Arab. c. 12.

Thus I have proved that there was a *Catholick Tradition* directly contrary to that established by order of the Council of *Trent*.

And now I proceed to give an Account of the *Methods* and *Steps* by which this Decree came to its ripeness.

1. The first *Step* was the *Declension* and *Corruption* of the *Latin Tongue* in the *Western Church*. It is observed by *Polybius*, that from the time of the first *League* between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, the *Latin Tongue* was so much changed even in *Rome* it self that very few could understand the Words of it. And *Festus* in *Latine loqui* saith, that the *Language* was so alter'd, that scarce any part of it remained entire. *Scaliger* thinks these words were added to *Festus* by *Paulus Diaconus*; which seems much more probable, since he lived in the time of *Charlemagn*. At which time we may easily suppose the *Latin Tongue* to have been very much corrupted by the *Writers*, and

Polyb. l. 3.

not so easie to be understood any where by the Common People in sudden Discourse, as it had been before. Which appears evident by the *Latin Sermons* made to the People in the several Provinces in the *Roman Empire*; as in *Africa* by *S. Augustin* and *Fulgentius*; in *Italy* by *Petrus Chrysologus*, *Laurentius Novariensis*, *Gaudentius Brixienfis*, *Ennodius Ticinensis*: In *Spain* by *Isidore*, *Ildephonsus* and others: In *Gaul* by *Casarius*, *Eucherius*, *Eligius*, and several others, whose *Latin Sermons* to the People are still extant. In the Council of *Tours*, in the

Conc. Turon.  
3. c. 17.

time of *Charlemagn*, particular care is taken that the *Homilies* should be translated by their *Bishops* either into the *Rustick Roman* or the *German*, that the People might the easier understand them. These *Homilies* were either those which *Charlemagn* caused to be taken out of the *Fathers*, and applied to the several Lessons through the year, as

Sigeb. ad An.  
807.

*Sigebert* observes, or of their own composing; however they were to be turned by the *Bishops* either into *Rustick Roman*, or *German*, as served best to the capacities of the People. For the *Franks* then either retained the *Original German*, or used the *Rustick Roman*; but this latter so much prevailed over the other, that in the solemn Oaths between *Lewis* and *Charles* upon parting the Dominions of *France* and *Germany*, set down in *Nithardus*, the *Rustick Roman* was become the *Vulgar Language* of *France*, and these were but the *Grandchildren* of *Charlemagn*. *Marquardus Freherus* thinks that onely the *Princes* and *Great Men* retained the *German*, but the generality then spake the *Rustick Roman*; as appears by the Oath of the People; which begins thus.

Nithard. l. 3.

Freher. in  
Exposit. Fæ-  
deris inter  
Lud. & Car.

V. Capitul.  
Caroli Calvi.  
Tit. 8.

*Si Lodwigs Sacrament que Son Fradre Carlo jurat conseruat, & Carlus meo Serdra de suo part non los tanit, si jo returnar non licit pois, ne io, ne neuls cui eo returnar nil pois, in nulla adjudha contra Lodwig nun li iver.*

By

By which we may see what a mixture of *Latin* there was in the *vulgar Language* then used by the *Franks*, and how easie it was for the People then to understand the publick Offices being constant ; but the *Sermons* not being so, there was greater necessity to turn them into that corrupt or *Rustick Roman*, which was thoroughly understood by them. In *Spain* the *Latin* was less corrupted before the *Gothick* and *Arabick* or *Moorish* Words were taken in to it. *Lucius Marineus* saith, that had it not been for the mixture of those words, the *Spaniards* had spoken as good *Latin* as the *Romans* did in the time of *Tully* : and he saith, that to his time he had seen *Epistles* written in *Spanish*, wherein all the *Nouns* and *Verbs* were good *Latin*. In *Italy* the Affinity of the vulgar prevailing Language and the *Latin* continued so great, that the difference seemed for some hundred years, no more than of the learned and common *Greek*, or of the *English* and *Scotch* ; and so no necessity was then apprehended of Translating the correct Tongue into a corrupt Dialect of it.

*Marineus Sicul. de Rebus Hisp. l. 5. c. 4.*

But where there was a plain difference of Language there was some care even then taken, that the People might understand what they heard, as appears by these things :

1. *Alcuinus* gives an Account why one day was called *Sabbatum* in 12 *Lectionibus*, when there were but six *Lessons*, and he saith, it was because they were read both in *Greek* and *Latin*, they not understanding each others Languages. Not because the *Greek* was a holy Tongue, but quia aderant *Græci*, quibus ignota erat lingua *Latina*; which shews that the Church then thought it a reasonable cause to have the Scripture in such a Language, which might be understood by the People. The same Reason is given by *Amalaricus*.

*Alcuin. de divin. Offic. c. 29.*

*Amalar. de Offic. l. 2. c. 1.*

Rhenan. Rev.  
German.  
p. 112.

Rev. Alem.  
To. 1. p. 120.  
To. 2. p. 119.

Hist. Franc.  
To. 2. p. 326.

Bede. Epist.  
ad Egbert,  
p. 65.

Saxon Treas-  
ure of the Old  
and New Tes-  
tament.

2. In the German Churches there were ancient *Translations* of Scripture into their own Language. B. *Rhenanus* attributes a Translation of the Gospels to *Waldo Bishop of Freising*, as soon as the Franks received Christianity, and he saith, *it was the immortal Honours of the Franks, to have the Scripture so soon translated into their own Language; which, saith he, is of late opposed by some Divines*: So little did he know of an universal Tradition against it. *Goldastus* mentions the Translation in Rhime by *Ottfridus Wissenburgensis*, published by *Achilles Gassarus*, the *Psalter of Notkerus*, *Rudolphus ab Eems* his *Paraphrase of the old Testament*. *Andreas du Chesn* hath published a Preface before an old *Saxon Book*, wherein it is said, *that Ludovicus Pius did take care that all the People should read the Scripture in their own Tongue, and gave it in charge to a Saxon to translate both Old and New Testament into the German Language; which, saith he, was performed very elegantly.*

3. In the *Saxon Churches* here, it was not to be expected that the Scripture should be translated, till there were Persons learned both in the *Saxon* and the other Languages. *Bede*, in his *Epistle to Egbert*, puts him upon instructing the common People in their own Language, especially in the *Creed* and *Lord's Prayer*; and to further so good a Work, *Bede* himself translated the *Gospel of St. John into the Saxon Tongue*, as *Cuthbert* saith in the *Epistle* about his Death, in the *Life of Bede*, before his *Saxon History*. It appears by the old *Canons of Churches*, and the *Epistles of Ælfric*, saith Mr. *Liste*, *that there was an old Saxon Canon for the Priest to say unto the People the sense of the Gospel in English*; and *Ælfric* saith of himself, *that he had translated the Pentateuch, and some of the Historical Books*. The *New Testament* was translated by several hands; and an ancient *Saxon Translation* hath been

been lately published with the *Gothick Gospels*. And there were old *Saxon Glosses* upon the *Gospels*; of *Aldred*, *Farmen* and *Owen*. The last Work of *K. Alfred* was the *translating the Psalter*; and if the *MS. History of Ely* deserves credit, he *translated both the Old and New Testament*.

4. It is not denied either by *Bellarmin* or *Baronius*, that the Slavonians in the 9th Century had a permission upon their conversion to Christianity, to enjoy the Bible, and to have publick Offices performed in their own Language. But they tell us, it was because they were then Children in the Faith, and to be indulged; (but methinks Children were the most in danger to be seduced;) or there were not Priests enough to officiate in Latin at first: But this was no Reason then given, as appears by the Pope's own Letter published by *Baronius*, Wherein he gives God thanks for the Invention of Letters among them by *Constantine a Philosopher*; and he expressly saith, that God had not confined his Honour to three Languages, but all People and Languages were to praise him; and he saith, God himself in Scripture had so commanded; and he quotes *St. Paul's words* for it. One would wonder those great Men should no better consider the Popes own Reasons; but give others for him, which he never thought of. It is true, he adds, that he would have the Gospel read first in Latin, and then in Slavonian, and if they pleased he would have the Mass said in Latin; but the Slavonians continued their Custom, and the Pope was willing enough to let them enjoy it, for his own convenience as well as theirs. For there was a secret in this matter, which is not fully understood.

*Aventinus*, saith, that *Methodius* invented their Letters, and translated the Scriptures into the Slavonian Tongue, and persuaded the People to reject the Latin Service; but this I see no ground for. But the Truth of the matter.

*Bell. de Verbo Dei, l. 2.*

*Bar. ad An. 880. n. 16.*

*Aventin. An. nal. l. 4. p. 434.*

matter was, the *Slavonians* were converted by the means of *Methodius* and *Cyril*, (otherwise called *Constantine*) two *Greek Bishops*, and the Christian Religion was settled among them by their means, and they Translated the Scriptures and Offices of Worship into their own Language. The Pope had not forgotten the business of the *Bulgarians*, and he could not tell but this might end in subjection to another *Patriarchal See*; and therefore he endeavours to get *Methodius* and *Cyril* to *Rome*, and having gained them, he sends a sweetning Letter to the Prince, and makes the concession before mentioned. For he could not but remember how very lately the *Greeks* had gained the *Bulgarians* from him; and lest the *Slavonians* should follow them, he was content to let them have what they desired, and had already Established among themselves, without his Permission. All this appears from the account of this matter given by *Constantinus Porphyrogenetus*, compared with *Diocleas* his *Regnum Slavorum*, and *Lucius* his *Dalmatian History*.

It is sufficient for my purpose, that *Diocleas* owns that *Constantine* (to whom *Andreas Dandalus*, D. of *Venice*, in his *M S. History* cited by *Lucius*, saith, the Pope gave the name of *Cyril*) did Translate the Bible into the Slavonian Tongue, for the benefit of the People, and the publick Offices out of Greek, according to their Custom. And the Chancellour *Seguier* had in his Library both the *New Testament* and *Liturgies* in the Slavonian Language, and in *Cyril's Character*; and many of the *Greek Fathers Commentaries* on Scripture in that Tongue, but not one of the Latin.

Bar. A. 869.  
n. 80.

Luci. de Reg.  
no Dalmatiz,  
l. 2. c. 3.

Catal. M S S.  
p. 33. 34.

Greg. Regist.  
l. 7. Ep. 11.

2. The next step was, when Gregory 7. prohibited the Translation of the Latin Offices in the Slavonian Tongue. And this he did to the King of *Bohemia* himself, after a perempto-



peremptory manner; but he saith, *it was the request of the Nobility, that they might have divine Offices in the Slavonian Tongue, which he could by no means yield to.* What was the matter? How comes the Case to be so much altered from what it was in his Predecessor's time? The true Reason was, the *Bohemian Churches* were then brought into greater Subjection to the Roman See, after the Consecration of *Dithmarus Saxo* to be their Archbishop; and now they must own their Subjection, as the Roman Provinces were wont to do, by receiving the Language. But as his Predecessour had found Scripture for it, for *Gregory* pretends he had found Reason against it, viz. *The Scripture was obscure, and apt to be misunderstood and despised.* What! more than in the time of *Methodius* and *Cyril*? If they pleaded Primitive Practice, he plainly answers, *that the Church is grown wiser, and hath corrected many things that were then allowed.* This is indeed to the purpose; and therefore by the Authority of *S. Peter*, he forbids him to suffer any such thing, and charges him to oppose it with all his might.

*Cum primitiva Ecclesia multa dissimulaverit quæ à sanctis Patribus postmodum firmata Christianitate, & Religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctæ sunt.*

But after all, it is entred in the Canon Law *De Officio Jud. Ord. l. 1. Tit. 31. c. Quoniam*, as a Decree of *Innocent 3.* in the *Lateran Council*, that where there were People of different Languages, the Bishop was to provide Persons fit to officiate in those several Languages. Why so? If there were a prohibition of using any but the Latin Tongue. But this was for the Greeks, and theirs was an holy Tongue. That is not said; nor if it were would it signify any thing; for doth any imaginary holiness of the Tongue sanctifie ignorant Devotion? But the Canon supposes them to have the same Faith. Then the meaning is, that no man must examin his Religion by the Scrip-

ture, but if he resolves beforehand to believe as the Church believes, then he may have the Scriptures or Prayers in what Language he pleases. But even this is not permitted in the Roman Church. For,

3. After the *Inquisition* was set up by the Authority of *Innocent 3.* in the *Lateran Council*, no Lay Persons were permitted to have the Books of the Old and New Testament, but the *Psalter*, or *Breviary*, or *Hours*, they might have; but by no means in the *vulgar Language*. Labb. *Concil.* This is called by *D'achery* and *Labbe* the *Council of Tholouse*, but in truth it was nothing else but an *Order of the Inquisition*, as will appear to any one that reads it. And the *Inquisition* ought to have the Honour of it, both in *France* and *Spain*. Which *Prohibition* hath been so grateful to some Divines of the Church of *Rome*, that *Cochlaus* calls it *pious, just, reasonable, wholsom and necessary*; *Andradius* thinks the taking of it away would be *destructive to Faith*; *Ledesma* saith, the true *Catholicks* do not desire it, and bad ought not to be gratified with it. *Petrus Sutor*, a *Carthusian Doctour*, calls the Translating Scripture into the vulgar Languages, a *rash, useless and dangerous thing*; and he gives the true Reason of it, viz. *that the People will be apt to murmur when they see things required as from the Apostles, which they cannot find a word of in Scripture*. And when all is said on this Subject that can be, by men of more Art, this is the plainest and honestest Reason for such a *Prohibition*; but I hope I have made it appear it is not built on any *Catholick Tradition*.

*Cochl. s. Alex. Alefium, A. D. 1533.*  
*Andrad. Defens. Concil. Trident. l. 4.*

*Ledesma de Div. Script. quavis lingua non leg. p. 155.*

*Pet. Sutor de Translatione Biblia, p. 99. p. 96.*

## IV. Of the Merit of Good Works.

The Council of Trent Sess. 6. c. 16. declares, *That the Good Works of justified Persons do truly deserve Eternal Life*; and Can. 32. an *Anathema* is denounced against him that denies them to be meritorious, or that a justified Person by them doth not truly merit Increase of Grace, and Happiness, and Eternal Life.

The Council hath not thought fit to declare what it means by *truly meriting*; but certainly it must be opposed to an improper kind of Meriting, and what that is we must learn from the *Divines* of the Church of Rome.

1. Some say, That some of the Fathers speak of an *improper* kind of Merit, which is no more than the due Means for the attaining of Happiness as the End. So Vega confesses they often use the word *Merit*, where there is no Reason for *Merit*, either by way of *Congruity* or *Condignity*. Therefore, where there is true Merit there must be a proper Reason for it. And the Council of Trent being designed to condemn some prevailing Opinions at that time, among those they called *Hereticks*, this Assertion of *true Merit* must be levelled against some Doctrine of theirs; but they held *Good Works* to be necessary as *Means* to an end, and therefore this could not be the meaning of the Council.

Suarez saith, the words of the Council ought to be specially observed, which are, that there is nothing wanting in the good works of justified Persons, ut vere promeruisse censentur; and therefore no Metaphorical or improper, but that which by the Sense of the Church of Rome was accounted true Merit in opposition to what was said by those accounted Hereticks must be understood thereby.

Suarez de  
Grat. l. 12.  
c. 1 n. 3.

2. Others say, that a *meer Congruity* arising from the Promise and Favour of God in rewarding the acts of his Grace in justified Persons cannot be the *proper Merit* intended by the Council. And that for these Reasons.

Suarez de  
Grat. l. 12.  
c. 1. n. 12.

1. Suarez observes that although the Council avoids the Terms *ex Condigno*, yet because it still uses the words *vere mereri*, it implies something more than *mere Congruity*; and because it speaks of *meriting the Increase of Grace*, and not the *first Grace*; now a *Congruity* is allowed for the *first Grace*, which it excludes by mentioning the *Increase*. And withal, it brings places to prove that the giving the Reward must be a *Retribution of Justice*, and if so, the merit must be more than that of *Congruity*.

2. Because God's Promise doth not give any *Intrinsic* value to the Nature of the Act; no more than his threatening doth increase the Nature of Guilt. If the King of Persia had promised a Province to him that gave him a draught of Water, the Act it self had been no more *meritorious*; but it only shewed the Munificence of the Prince; no more do God's Promises of Eternal Life add any merit to the Acts of Grace, but onely set forth the Infinite Bounty of the Promiser.

Disputat. Ra-  
tisbonæ An.  
1546. p. 568.

3. In the Conference at *Ratisbon* (the year this Decree passed) by the Emperour's Order the Protestant Party did yield, that by virtue of God's Promise the Reward of Eternal Life was due to justified Persons; as a Father promising a great Reward to his Son for his pains in studying, makes it become due to him, although there be no proportion between them. And if no more were meant by Merit of Congruity, than that it was very agreeable to the Divine Nature to reward the Acts of his own Grace with an infinite Reward, they would yield this too.

4. Car-

4. Cardinal Pallavicini gives us the plain and true meaning of the Council, viz. that a Merit de Congruo was allowed for Works before Justification; but for Works after, they all agreed, he saith, that there was a Merit de condigno in them both for increase of Grace and Eternal Glory. By Merit de condigno is meant such an intrinsic value in the nature of the Act as makes the Reward in Justice to be due to it.

Hist. Conc.  
Trid. l. 8.  
c. 4. n. 4.

Some call one of these, *Meritum secundum quid*; which is the same with *de congruo*; which really deserves no reward, but receives it onely from the liberality of the Giver; and this hath not truly, say they, the notion of Merit; but that which makes the reward due is simple and true Merit, when it doth not come merely from the Kindness of the Giver, but from Respect to the worthiness of the Action and the Doer, and this is *de condigno*.

Rich. de Media. Vill. in l.  
2. sent. dist.  
17. art. 2. q. 1.  
Nich. de Orbellis in 3.  
sent. dist. 27.

Let us now see what *Catholick Tradition* there was for this Doctrine, and whether this were taught them by their *Fathers* in a continued succession down from the Apostles times.

But that there was a change as to the sense of the Church in this matter, I shall prove in the first place from an Office which was allow'd in the Church before, and forbidden after. It was an Office with respect to dying Persons, wherein are these Questions.

Q. Dost thou believe that thou shalt come to Heaven, not by thy own Merits, but by the virtue and Merit of Christ's Passion?

A. I do believe it.

Q. Dost thou believe that Christ died for our Salvation, and that none can be saved by their own Merits, or any other way but by the Merits of his Passion?

A. I do believe it.

Credis non propriis meritis, sed passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtute & merito ad gloriam pervenire?

Credo.

Credis quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro Salute nostra mortuus sit; & quod ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo nullus possit salvari nisi in merito passionis ejus?

Credo.

Now

Now when the *Indices Expurgatorii* were made in pursuance to the Order of the Council of Trent, this passage was no longer endured. For, in the *Roman Index* the *Ordo baptizandi*, wherein this Question was, is forbidden till it were Corrected. But the *Spanish Indices* explain the mystery; that of Cardinal Quiroga saith expressly, *those Questions and Answers must be blotted out*; and the like we find in the *Index of Soto major* and *Sandoval*. What now is the Reason, that such Questions and Answers were no longer permitted, if the Churches Tradition continued still the same? Was not this a way to know the Tradition of the Church by the Offices used in it? This was no *private Office* then first used, but although the prohibition mentions one Impression at *Venice* (as though there had been no more) I have one before me, Printed by *Gryphius* at *Venice* two years before that; and long before with the *Præceptorium* of *Lyra*, A. D. 1495. where the Question to the dying Person is in these words, *Si credit se Merito Passionis Christi & non propriis ad gloriam pervenire? Et respondeat, Credo.* And the same Questions and Answers I have in a *Sacerdotale Romanum* Printed by *Nicolinus* at *Venice* 1585. Cardinal *Hosius* says that he had seen these Questions and Answers in the *Sacerdotale Romanum* and in the *Hortulus Animæ*; and that they were believed to be first prescribed by *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. On what account now, come these things to be prohibited and expunged, if the Churches Doctrine and Tradition about this matter, be still the very same? No doubt it was believed that the Council of *Trent* had now so far declared the Sense of the Church another way, that such Questions and Answers were no longer to be endured.

Hof. Confess.  
Petricovi,  
c. 73. p. 144.

Anididagma  
Colan. f. 16.  
2.

But before the Council of *Trent* the *Canons* of *Colen* against *Hermannus* their Bishop, when he published his *Refor*,



Reformation, declare, that God's giving Eternal Life upon good Works is *ex gratuita dignatione sua clementie*, from the Favour which God vouchsafes to them. Which to my apprehension is inconsistent with the Notion of true Merit in the Works themselves ; for if there be any *Condignity* in them, it cannot be mere Grace and Favour in God to reward them.

The same Canons in their *Enchiridion* some years before, when they joyned with their Bishop, call it *stupidity to think that good Works are rewarded with Eternal Life for any Dignity in the Works themselves*. And if there be no dignity in them, there can be no true Merit ; as the Council of Trent determines with an *Anathema*. *Enchirid. Col- lon. f. 176. 2.*

Pope Adrian VI. gives such an account of the Merit of our Works, that he could never imagine any *condignity* in them to Eternal Life. For, saith he, *our Merits are a broken reed, which pierce the hand of him that leans upon them ; they are a menstruous Cloth, and our best Actions mixt with impurities ; and when we have done all that we can, we are unprofitable Servants*. *Adrian. de Sacram. Euchar. f. 61.*

Petrus de Alliaco Cardinal of Cambray attributes no other effect to good Works than of *Causa sine qua non* ; and saith that the Reward is not to be attributed to any Virtue in them, but to the Will of the Giver. Which I think overthrows any true Merit. *Pet de Alliaco, in 4. l. Sent. q. 1. art. 1. f. 225. c.*

Gabriel Biel attributes the Merit of Good Works not to any *intrinsic Goodness* in them, but to God's acceptance. Which is in words to assert Merit, and in truth to deny it ; for, how can there be true Merit in the Works, if all their value depends upon divine Acceptance ? *Biel in l. 2. sent. dist. 27. art. 1. not. 3.*

Thomas Walden charges Wickliff with asserting the Doctrine of Merit and encouraging men to trust in their own Righteousness, and he quotes Scripture and Fathers against *Walden, de Sacram. Tit. 3. c. 7.*

against it ; and he blames the use of the term of *Merit* either *ex congruo* or *ex condigno* : which he saith was an *Invention of some late Schoolmen*, and was contrary to the *ancient Doctrine of the Church*. As he proves, not only from *Scripture* and *Fathers*, but from the *ancient Offices* too : as in the *Canon of the Mass*, *Non estimator meriti, sed venia quasumus largitor*, &c. *Fer. 4. Pass. Ut qui de meritorum qualitate diffidimus, non iudicium tuum sed misericordiam consequamur*. *Dom. 2. Adv. Ubi nulla suppetunt suffragia meritorum, tua nobis indulgentia succurre præsidiis*. How comes the *Doctrine* condemned in *Wickliff* to be established in the *Council of Trent* ? For he was blamed for asserting *true Merit*, and the *Council* asserts it with an *Anathema* to those that deny it. And yet we must believe the very same *Tradition* to have been in the *Church* all this while.

Vega in *Opusc.*  
*Qu. 4.*

Vega saith, that *Walden* speaks against *Merits* without *Grace* ; but any one that reads him will find it otherwise, For he produces those passages out of the *Fathers* against *Merits* which do suppose *Divine Grace*, as it were easie to shew ; but *Friar Walden* thought the notion of *Merit* inconsistent with the *Power* and *Influence* of *Divine Grace* necessary to our best *Actions*. *God*, saith he, doth not regard *Merit* either as to *Congruity* or *Condignity*, but his own *Grace*, and *Will*, and *Mercy*.

Marfil. in l. 2.  
*seni. q. 13.*

*Marfilus de Ingen* who lived before *Walden* reckons up three *Opinions* about *Merit* ; the first of those who denied it, and of this, saith he, *Durandus* seems to be, and one *Joh. de Everbaco*. The second of those who said that our *Works* have no merit of themselves, but as informed by *divine Grace*, and from the assistance of the *Holy Ghost*, so they do truly merit *Eternal Life*, and of this Opinion he saith was *Thomas de Argentina*. The third was, of those who granted that *true Merit* doth imply an *Equality*,

lity, but then they distinguish Equality, as to Quantity and as to Proportion, and in this latter sense they asserted an Equality. And of this Opinion he saith was Petrus de Tarantasia. But he delivers his own Judgment in these Conclusions.

1. That our Works either considered in themselves or with Divine Grace are not meritorious of Eternal Life ex condigno, which he proves both from Scripture and Reason, viz. because 1. No Man can make God a Debtor to him; for the more Grace he hath the more he is a Debtor to God. And 2. He cannot merit of another by what he receives from him. And 3. No man can pay what he owes to God, and therefore can never merit at his hands. 4. No man can merit here so much Grace as to keep him from falling away from Grace; much less then Eternal Life.

2. These works may be said to be meritorious of Eternal Life ex condigno by divine acceptation originally proceeding from the Merit of Christ's Passion, because that makes them worthy. But this is Christ's Merit and not the true Merit of our Works.

3. Works done by Grace do merit Eternal Life de congruo from God's liberal disposition, whereby he hath appointed so to reward them. It being agreeable to him to give Glory to them that love him. But this is an improper kind of Merit, and can by no means support the Tradition of true Merit.

Durandus utterly denies any true Merit of Man towards God; he doth not deny it in a large improper sense for such a Condignity in our actions as God hath appointed in order to a Reward; which is by the Grace of God inus; but as it is taken for a free Action to which a Reward is in Justice due; because whatever we doe is more owing to the Grace of God than to our selves; but to make a Debtor to us, we must not only pay an equivalent

Durand. in  
sent. l. 2. dist.  
27. q. 2.

n. 14.

to what we owe, but we must go beyond it; but to God and our Parents we can never pay an equivalent, much less exceed it. And we can never merit by what God gives us, because the Gift lays a greater Obligation upon us. And he saith, the holding the contrary is temerarious and blasphemous.

The two grounds of holding Merit were, the supposing a Proportion between Grace and Glory, and an Equality between Divine Grace and Glory in Vertue, Grace being as the Seed of Glory; and to both these he answers.

To the first, That the giving a Reward upon Merit is no part of distributive, but commutative Justice, because it respects the relation of one thing to another, and not the mere quality of the Person.

To the second, That the Value of an Act is not considered with respect to the first Mover, but to the immediate Agent: and as to Grace being the seed of Glory, it is but a metaphorical expression, and nothing can be drawn from it. So that Durandus concludes true Merit with respect to God to be temerarious, blasphemous and impossible.

Ockam in 4.  
sent. q. 3. ad  
secundum.  
In. l. 1. dist.  
17. q. 1.  
in l. 1. dist.  
17. q. 2.

Ockam declares, That after all our good Works God may without Injustice deny Eternal Life to them who do them; because God can be Debtor to none; and therefore whatever he doth to us, it is out of mere Grace. And that there can be nothing meritorious in any act of ours, but from the Grace of God freely accepting it. And therefore he must deny any true Merit.

Greg. Arim.  
in l. 1. sent.  
dist. 17. art. 2.

Gregorius Ariminensis saith, That no Act of ours though coming from Grace to never so great a degree, is meritorious with God ex condigno of any Reward either Temporal or Eternal; because every such Act is a Gift of God; and if it were at all meritorious, yet not as to Eternal Life, because there is no equivalency between them, and therefore

fore it cannot in Justice be due to it; and consequently if God gives it, he must do it freely. But, saith he, God is said to be just, when he gives bona pro bonis, and merciful, when he gives bona pro malis; nor but that he is merciful in both, but because his mercy appears more in the latter; and in the other, it seems like justice in a general sense from the conformity of the Merit and the Reward; but in this particular retribution it is mere Mercy.

Scotus affirms, that all the meritoriousness of our Acts depends on divine Acceptation in order to a Reward; and if it did depend on the intrinsic worth of the Acts, God could not in justice deny the Reward; which is false; and therefore it wholly depends on the good will and favour of God.

Scot. in l. 1.  
sent. dist. 17.  
q 3. n 24.

Bellarmin is aware of this, and he confesses this to be the Opinion of Scotus and of other old Schoolmen. But how then do they hold the Doctrine and Tradition of true Merit? He holds that good Works are properly and truly good. So do we, and yet deny Merit. But he grants, that he denies that they bear any proportion to Eternal Life, and therefore they cannot be truly meritorious of it. Bellarmin himself asserts that without the divine Promise good Works have a proportion to Eternal Life, and this he saw was necessary to defend the Doctrine of the Council of Trent; but then he adds, that there is no obligation on God's part to reward in such a manner without a Promise. Now here are two hard Points, 1. To make it appear that there is such a meritoriousness in good Works without a Divine Promise. 2. That if there were so, there is no Obligation on God to reward such Acts in point of Justice. The former is so much harder to do from what he had proved before, c. 14. viz. that they are not meritorious without a Promise;

Bell. de Just.  
l. 5. c. 17.

and here he proves that they have no proportion to the Reward, from Scripture, Fathers and Reason; because there is no Obligation on God to do it, either from commutative or distributive justice; and because we are God's Servants. These are good Arguments against himself for how can such Acts then become *meritorious* without a Promise? If there be no proportion or equality on Man's part, no Justice on God's part to reward, how can they possibly be *meritorious*? But this is too deep for me to comprehend. My business is *Tradition*, and I have evidently proved that there was no *Tradition* even in the Church of Rome for the true Merit defined by the Council of Trent. It were easie to carry this point higher, by shewing that the Fathers knew nothing of this Doctrine, but that hath been done by many already, and it is needless in so plain a case.

But I am now to give an account by what Steps and Occasions this Doctrine came to be established.

1. From the common Use of the word *Merit* with the Fathers and others, in another sense than it signified at first. The original signification of it is *Wages* paid in consideration of *Service*; and from thence *Souldiers were said merere* (as *Budeus* observes, and thence came the word *merces*) who truly deserved their pay by their labour and hazard; but by degrees it came to signifie no more than *merely to attain a thing*; which is sometimes used by good Authors; but in the declension of the Latin Tongue no sense of this word was more common than this, especially among Ecclesiastical Writers. Who frequently used it in a sense wherein it was impossible to understand it in its original signification; and it cannot imply so much as *digne consequi*, as in the instance brought by *Cassander*; when St. Cyprian renders those words of St. Paul, *Misericordiam merui*, which we render

Jos. Scalig. in  
Varr. de L. L.  
p. 172. Eud. in  
Pandect. pag.  
362. Plin. ep.  
l. 1. 8.

Cassand. in  
Hymn. Eccl.  
p. 179.



render, *I obtained Mercy*; but the Council of Trent allows there could be no true *Merit* here. And St. Augustine faith of those who murdered the Son of God, *Illi veniam meruerunt qui Christum occiderunt*. And so the vulgar Latin often uses it, Gen. 4. 13. *major est iniquitas mea quam ut veniam merear*. Jos. 11. 20. *& non mererentur ullam Clementiam*. And in that sense it hath been used in the *Hymns* and other *Offices* of the Church, as in that expression, *O felix culpa qua talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem!* where it cannot be denied that the word is used in an improper Sense.

Aug. in Joh.  
Tr. 31. n. 9.

2. When the *School Divines* set themselves to explain the Mysteries of *Theology*, this plain and easie, but improper sense of *Merit*, would not go down with some of them; but they endeavoured to make out the notion of *Merit* with respect to God, in its *proper and original Sense*. The last considerable Writer before the *Scholastick Age*, was St. Bernard, and he pretended not to find out any such proportion between the best Works and Eternal Life, *that God should be bound in justice to bestow it as a Recompence for them*; and the Reason he gives is plain and strong, *because those things men pretend to merit by, are themselves the Gifts of God's Grace, and so by them they are more bound to God, than God to them*; but besides, *what are all mens merits to Eternal Glory?* St. Bernard doth not speak of *Merits without Grace*, but with the *supposition* of it; and Bellarmin wisely left out the latter part, that he might seem to answer the former.

*Neque enim talia sunt hominum merita, ut propter ea vita aeterna deberetur ex jure, aut Deus injuriam aliquam faceret, nisi eam donaret. Nam ut taceam quod merita omnia Dona Dei sunt, & ita homo magis propter ipsa Deo debitor est, quam Deus homini, quid sunt merita omnia ad tantam gloriam? Bernard Se. m. l. de Annur. Bellarm. de Justis. l. 5. c. 6.*

Hugo de Sancto Victore lived in the same Age, who first shewed the way to *School Divinity*, and upon the same place which St. Bernard speaks of, *Non sunt condig-*

Hugo de S.  
Vict. Annot.  
Elucidator in  
Rom.

na, &c. he puts the Question, how any temporal Acts can merit that which is eternal? And he denies any Condignity, because there is more in the Reward than there was in the Merit; but then he adds, that there may be a three-fold comparison of things; either as to themselves, as a Horse for a Horse, Money for Money; or according to equity, either in punishments or rewards; or by Pact or Agreement, as when a good sum is promised for a little work; and this, saith he, God hath made known to Mankind as to future rewards and punishments. Which plainly shews, he understood nothing of the proportion between Acts of Grace, and an Eternal Happiness; but resolved all into the Favour and Mercy of God.

Lomb. Sent.  
l. 2. dist. 27.

Peter Lombard, called the Master of the Sentences, saith, Nothing of any Condignity or Proportion in our works to the Reward; but, he saith, they are themselves God's Gifts, and that the Reward it self is from the Grace of God, and quotes the noted Saying of St. Augustin, *Cum coronat Deus merita nostra, nihil aliud coronat quam dona sua*. But still this is nothing but Grace and Favour in God, first in enabling us to do good Works, and then in rewarding them.

Genebrard.  
de Trinit. l. 3.  
p. 312.

Bandinus wrote a Book of the Sentences much about the time P. Lombard did, with so much agreement of Method and Expressions, that it is not known which took from the other. Genebrard hath produced this passage out of him, *Debet, inciviliter de Deo dicitur, quia nihil omnino nobis debet, nisi ex promisso*. If it be so rude to say God owes any thing to his Creatures but by promise, he could not imagine any Condignity in good Works, to which a Reward is due in Justice. And Genebrard thinks he had reason to deny, that God can be made a Debtor to us by any of our Works.

Robertus

*Robertus Pullus*, who wrote another Book of the *Sentences* about the same time, mentioning that place, *Non sunt condigna, &c.* he saith, *because our Works are not sufficient, being small and temporal, God by his Mercy makes it up*; which not onely shews that God doth reward beyond our merit, but that there is no proportion between the best Works and Eternal Glory.

But by the time of *Gulielmus Antissiodorensis*, there were two Parties in the Church about this point; *some*, he saith, *denied any Merit of Eternal Life, ex condigno*, and others asserted it; and after laying down the Arguments on both sides, he concludes for the Affirmative; but in Answer to the place, *Non sunt condigna, &c.* he saith they are not *ad proportionaliter merendum*, but they are *ad simpliciter merendum*; so that still he denied any Proportion, though he held *simple Merit*.

But *Thomas Aquinas* coming after him, denies that there can be any *simple Merit* with respect to God, because that cannot be where there is so great inequality; and so there can be no equal Justice between them, but according to a proportion; which he afterwards explains, viz. as to the substance and Freedom of our good Works there is onely a Congruity; but as they proceed from Divine Grace, so they are meritorious of Eternal Life, *ex condigno*.

This Doctrine had some followers in the Schools, but not many in comparison of those who opposed it, as appears by what is said already.

*Richardus de Mediavilla*, though a *Franciscan*, follows herein the Doctrine of *Aquinas*, and asserts, that by Acts of Free Will, informed by Grace, a man may merit Eternal Life, *ex condigno*, and he adds somewhat more, *potest certissime*; and he uses the same Answers to the Objections which the other did.

*Pull. Sentent. Part. 1. c. 13.*

*Guliel. Antif. l. 3. tr. 12. q. 2. de merito virt.*

*1. 2. q. 114. art. 1.*

*art. 3.*

*Richard. in Sent. l. 2. dist. 27. art. 2. q. 3.*

Nich. de Orb.  
in Sent. l. 2.  
dist. 27.

And *Nich. de Orbellis* follows *Richardus*, so that *Aquinas* his Doctrine had prevailed beyond his own School.

Hof. Confess.  
Petrico c. 73.  
p. 141.

But it was as vehemently opposed by others of that Fraternity, among whom Cardinal *Hofius* mentions *Stephanus Bruliser*, who maintained, that no Act of Grace, how good soever, was worthy of Eternal Life.

P. Burg. ad.  
dit. ad Lyram  
in Pl. 35.

*Paulus Burgenfis*, though he is said to have been converted from being a Jew, by reading *Aquinas*, yet utterly dissented from him in this matter: For he saith, that no man can by the Ordinary assistance of Grace Merit Eternal Life ex condigno, and therefore the Mercy of God is most seen in Heaven.

However the Reputation of *Aquinas* might gain upon some, yet this was very far then from being a Catholick Tradition.

But no Council ever interposed its Authority in this matter, till the Council of *Trent*, which resolved to carry the Points in difference to the height, and to establish every thing that was questioned. Nothing had been more easie than to have given satisfaction in this matter, considering what *Pighius* and *Contarenus*, and even *Genebrayd*, had yielded in it; but there the Rule was, that every thing that was disputed, must be determined first, and then defended.

Bell. de justif.  
l. 5. c. 17.

And so it hath happened with this Decree, which, left we should think the matter capable of softening, hath been since asserted in the highest manner. *Bellarmin* asserts Good Works of themselves, and not merely by compact, to be meritorious of Eternal Life, so that in them there is a certain Proportion and Equality to Eternal Life.

Coster. En-  
chirid. p. 294.

*Costerus* saith, that in Works of Grace, there is an equality between the Work and the Reward.

*Suarez, that they have an intrinsecal Dignity, whereby they become worthy of Eternal Life.*

*Suarez de Grat. l. 12. c. 1. n. 18. Vasquez in 1. 2. Disp. 213. c. 5.*

*Vasquez, that there is an Equality of Dignity between Good Works and Eternal Life, without which a Promise could not make true Merit.*

*The Rhemists say, that good Works are truly and properly meritorious, and justly worthy of Everlasting Life; and that thereupon Heaven is the just Due, and just Stipend, Crown or Recompence, which God by his Justice oweth to the Persons so doing by his Grace.*

*Rhemists on 2 Tim. 4. 8.*

*And again, that Good Works are meritorious, and the very cause of Salvation. so far that God should be unjust, if he rendered not Heaven for the same.*

*On Heb. 6. 8.*

*Phil. Gamachaus, a late Professour of Divinity in the Sorbon, speaks it roundly, that the Council of Trent did plainly mean to establish Merit ex condigno, and that all Catholicks are agreed in it.*

*Gamach. in 1. 2. Th. Q. 114. c. 2. Concil. 2. Omnes Catholici sententur justos suis bonis operibus mereri gloriam de Condigno.*

*The last Defender of the Council of Trent within these few years, saith, That there is an intrinsecal Condignity in good Works, whereby they bear a proportion commensurate with the Glory of Heaven. And without such Doctrine as this, he doth not think the Council of Trent can be defended in this matter.*

*Aug. Reding Defens. Conc. Trident. Tr. 4. se. 2. ad sess. 6. c. 1.*

*If after all it be said, that this is a mere subtilty concerning the proportion an Act of Grace bears to the state of Glory; I answer, the more to blame they, who have made and imposed it as a matter of Faith, as the Council of Trent hath done with an Anathema, and that without any pretence from Catholick Tradition.*

*But what made the Council of Trent so much concerned for a Scholastick Subtilty? There was a deep Mystery lay in this, They were wise enough to frame the Decree so, as to avoid Offence, and to make it appear plausible,*

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but

but it was enough to the People to understand that the *Merit of Good Works* was allowed, and they were to believe the Priests, both as to the *Good Works* they were to do, and as to the putting them into a *state of Grace*, to make them capable of *meriting*. And this was the true Reason of the *Anathema*, against those who should deny the *true Merit of Good Works*.

#### V. Of the Number of Sacraments.

The Council of Trent pronounces an *Anathema* in these words, *If any one saith that the Sacraments of the new Law were not all appointed by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they were more or fewer than Seven, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony, or that any one of these is not truly and properly a Sacrament, let him be Anathema.*

But what is it to be *truly and properly a Sacrament*?

It had been very reasonable to have defined a *Sacrament* first *truly and properly*, before such an *Anathema* passed. But that defect may be said to be supplied by the *Roman Catechism*, published by Authority of the Council; and there we are told, that a *Sacrament* is a *sensible thing, which by divine Institution hath a power of causing as well as signifying holiness and righteousness*. So that to a *true and proper Sacrament* two things are necessary:

1. That it be of *Divine Institution*.
2. That it *confer Grace on those who partake of it*.

And by these we must examine the *Catholick Tradition* about the number of *Sacraments*.

Bellarmin saith, that all their *Divines*, and the whole Church for 500 years, viz. from the time of the Master of the Sentences, have agreed in the Number of the seven *Sacraments*.  
Here

Catech. Tri-  
dent. Part. 2.  
n. 10.

Roll. de Sa-  
ram. l. 2.  
c. 25.



Here we see is a bold Appeal to *Tradition* for 500 years; but although, if it were proved, it cannot be sufficient to prove an *Apostolical Tradition*; for the Fathers might for a *thousand years* have held the contrary; and I do not think one clear Testimony can be produced out of Antiquity for that number of Sacraments, *truly* so called; yet I shall at present wholly wave the debate of the former times, and confine my self to *Bellarmin's 500 years*; and I hope to make it appear there was no *Universal Tradition* for it within his own time.

For *Alexander Hales* (who wrote, saith *Possevin*, his *Summ of Divinity* by order of *Innocent IV.* and it was approved by *Alexander IV.* with seventy *Divines*,) affirms, *there were but Four proper Sacraments*; now if this were the *Catholick Tradition* then, *That there were Seven proper Sacraments*, how could this Doctrine pass, and be so highly approved? He saith farther, *that Christ himself only appointed two*, viz. *Baptism and the Lord's Supper*; and for the rest, he saith, *it may be presumed the Apostles did appoint them by Christ's Direction, or by divine Inspiration*. But how can that be, when he saith, *the Form even of those he calls proper Sacraments, was either appointed by our Lord or by the Church*? How can such Sacraments be of *divine Institution*, whose very *Form* is appointed by the Church? He puts the Question himself, *why Christ appointed the Form only of Two Sacraments, when all the Grace of the Sacraments comes from him*? He answers, *because these are the principal Sacraments which unite the whole man in the body of the Church by Faith and Charity*. But yet this doth not clear the Difficulty, how those can be *proper Sacraments*, whose *Form* is not of *Divine Institution*; as he

*In quatuor quæ sunt propriè dicta  
Sacramenta novæ legis est forma in-  
stituta à Domino vel ab Ecclesia.  
Alex. Halens. Part. 4. q. 5. M. 3. et 2.*

*Membr. 2. a. 1.*

*Membr. 3. a. 2.*

*sect. 3.*

grants in the Sacrament of *Penance* and *Orders*, the *Form* is of the *Churches Appointment*.

And this will not only reach to this great *School Divine*, but to as many others as hold it in the *Churches Power* to appoint or alter the *Matter* and *Form* of some of those they call *Sacraments*. For, however they may use the Name, they can never agree with the Council of *Trent* in the Nature of the *Seven Sacraments*, which supposes them to be of *Divine Institution*, as to *Matter* and *Form*. And so the Divines of the Church of *Rome* have agreed since the Council of *Trent*.

Bell. de Sacr.  
l. 1. c. 21.

*Bellarmin* hath a Chapter on purpose to shew, that the *Matter* and *Form* of *Sacraments* are so certain and determinate, that nothing can be changed in them; and this determination must be by God himself. Which, he saith, is most certain among them; and he proves it by a substantial Reason, viz. because the *Sacraments* are the Causes of Grace; and no one can give Grace but God, and therefore none else can appoint the *Essentials* of *Sacraments* but he, and therefore he calls it *Sacrilege* to change even the matter of *Sacraments*.

Suarez. in 3.  
p. Tb. Tom. 3.  
Disp. 2. sect. 3.

*Suarez* asserts, that both the *Matter* and *Form* of *Sacraments* are determined by *Christ's Institution*, and as they are determined by him, they are necessary to the making of *Sacraments*. And this (he saith) absolutely speaking, is de Fide, or an *Article of Faith*. And he proves it from the manner of *Christ's* instituting *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, and he urges the same Reason, because *Christ* only can confer Grace by the *Sacraments*, and therefore he must appoint the *Matter* and *Form* of them.

Lugo de Sacram.  
Disp. 2.  
sect. 5.

Cardinal *Lugo* affirms, that *Christ* hath appointed both *Matter* and *Form* of the *Sacraments*, which he proves from the Council of *Trent*. He thinks *Christ* might have granted a *Commission* to his Church to appoint *Sacraments*, which

which he would make efficacious, but he neither believes that he hath done it, or that it was fitting to be done.

*Petrus à Sancto Joseph* saith, that although the Council of Trent doth not expressly affirm the Sacraments to be immediately instituted by Christ; yet it is to be so understood. And although the Church may appoint Sacramentalia, i. e. Rites about the Sacraments; yet Christ himself must appoint the Sacraments themselves; and he concludes, that no Creature can have authority to make Sacraments conferring Grace; and therefore he declares that Christ did appoint the Forms of all the Sacraments himself, although we do not read them in Scripture.

Pet. à Sanct.  
Joseph. Idea  
Theol. Sacr.  
l. 1. c. 3.

If now it appears that some even of the Church of Rome before the Council of Trent, did think it in the Churches Power to appoint or alter the Matter and Form of some of those they called Sacraments, then it will evidently follow they had not the same Tradition about the Seven Sacraments which is there deliver'd.

### Of Chrism.

The Council of Trent declares the matter of Confirmation to be Chrism, viz. a Composition made of Oyl of Olive and Balsam; the one to signify the clearness of Conscience, the other the Odour of a good Fame, saith the Council of Florence. But where was this Chrism appointed by Christ? *Marsilius* saith from *Petrus Aureolus*, that there was a Controversie between the Divines and Canonists about this matter; and the latter affirmed that Chrism was not appointed by Christ, but afterwards by the Church; and that the Pope could dispense with it; which he could not do if it were of Christ's Institution.

Conc. Trid.  
De Confirm.  
Can. 2.  
Conc. Florent.  
Decret. Unio-  
nis.

Marsil. in  
sent. l. 4. q. 5.  
d. 1.

*Petrus Aureolus* was himself a great Man in the Church of Rome; and after he had mentioned this difference, and

Aureol. in 4.  
d. 7. q. 1.

named

named one *Brocardus* (or *Bernardus*) with other *Canonists* for it ; he doth not affirm the contrary to be a *Catholick Tradition* ; but himself asserts the *Chrism* not to be necessary to the *Sacrament of Confirmation* ; which he must have done if he had believed it of Divine Institution.

Greg. de Val.  
Tom. 4. Q. 5.  
Pun. 2.

*Gregory de Valentia* on the occasion of this Opinion of the *Canonists*, that *Confirmation* might be without *Chrism*, saith two notable things. 1. *That they were guilty of Heresie therein* : for which he quotes *Dominicus Soto*. 2. *That he thinks there were no Canonists left of that mind*. If not, the Change was greater ; since it is certain they were of that Opinion before. For *Guido Brianſon* attests, that there was a difference between the *Divines* and *Canonists* about this matter ; for *Bernard* the *Glosser* and others held, that *Chrism* was not necessary to it, because it was neither appointed by *Christ* nor his *Apostles*, but in some ancient Councils.

Guido Bri-  
anſon in 4.  
ſent. q. 5.  
Conc. 1.

Guil. Antif. in  
l. 4. tra. 9.

*Guil. Antissiodorensis* long before mentions the Opinion of those who said that *Chrism* was appointed by the Church after the *Apostles* times ; and that they confirmed only by imposition of hands ; but he doth not condemn it ; only he thinks it better to hold that the *Apostles* used *Chrism*, although we never read that they did it. But he doth not lay that Opinion only on the *Canonists* ; for there were *Divines* of great note of the same. For,

Bonav. in 4.  
d. 7. a. 1. q. 2.

*Bonaventure* saith, that the *Apostles* made use neither of their Matter nor Form in their *Confirmation* ; and his Resolution is, that they were appointed by the *Governors* of the Church afterwards ; as his Master *Alexander* of *Hale* had said before him, who attributes the Institution of both to a Council of *Meaux*.

Alex. p. 4. q. 9.  
memb. 1.

Jac. de Vitri.  
Hiſt. Occid.  
c. 37.

*Cardinal de Vitriaco* saith, that *Confirmation* by Imposition of Hands was from the *Apostles* ; but by *Chrism* from  
the

the Church; for we do not read that the Apostles used it. Thomas Aquinas confesses there were different Opinions Aq. 2. 3. q. 72. 4. 1. Resp. ad 1. about the Institution of this Sacrament; some held that it was not instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but afterwards in a certain Council. But he never blames these for contradicting Catholick Tradition although he dislikes their Opinion.

Cajetan on Aquinas saith, that Chrism with Balsam was appointed by the Church after the Primitive times; and yet now, this must be believed to be essential to this Sacrament; and by Conink it seems to be heretical to deny Conink de Sacram. q. 72. 4. 3. dab. 1. it. For he affirms, that it seems to be an Article of Faith that Confirmation must be with Chrism, and no Catholick, he saith, now denies it. Which shews, that he believed the sense of the Church not to have been always the same about it.

But others speak out, as Gregory de Valentia, Suarez, Filliucius and Tanner, who say absolutely, it is now a matter of Faith to hold Chrism to be essential to Confirmation; and that it is now not onely erroneous but heretical to deny it. Their Testimonies are at large produced by Petrus Aurelius, or the famous Abbat of S. Cyran. And even he grants it to be Heresie since the Council of Trent; Petr. Aurel. Oper. p. 546. but he yields that Alensis, Bonaventure and de Vitricio 547. p. 567. all held that Opinion, which was made Heresie by it. From whence it follows, that there hath been a change in the Doctrine of the Roman Church about Confirmation by Chrism. For if it be Heresie now to assert that which was denied without any reproach before, the Tradition cannot be said to continue the same.

Thus we have seen there was no certain Tradition for the Matter of this Sacrament, and as little is there for the Form of it. • Which is, *Consigno te signo Crucis, & confirmo te Chrismate salutis in nomine Patris, &c.* But *Sirmondus*

- Simon. Ant. *Sirmondus* produces another Form out of *S. Ambrose*,  
 2. p. 64. *Dens Pater omnipotens, qui te regeneravit ex Aqua & Spiritu Sancto, concessitque tibi peccata tua, ipse te ungit in vitam eternam.* And from thence concludes the present Form not to be ancient; and he confesses that both Matter and Form of this Sacrament are changed. Which was an ingenuous Confession; but his adversary takes  
 p. 63. this Advantage from it; *that then the Sacrament it self must be changed, if both Matter and Form were; and then the Church must be a very unfaithful keeper of Tradition; which I think is unanswerable.* *Suarez* proposes the Objection fairly both as to the Matter and Form of this Sacrament, *that we read nothing of them in Scripture, and Tradition is very various about them; but his Answer is very insufficient, viz. that though it be not in Scripture, yet they have them by Tradition from the Apostles; now that is the very thing which Sirmondus disproves, and shew that the Church of Rome is clearly gone off from Tradition here both as to Matter and Form.*
- Suarez. To. 3.*  
 q. 3. p. Th.  
 & 72. Disp.  
 33. sect. 5.

## Of Orders.

Decret. Uni-  
 onis.

I proceed to the Sacrament of Orders. It is impossible for those of the Church of Rome to prove this a true and proper Sacrament, on their own Grounds. For, they assert that such a one must have Matter and Form appointed by Christ; but that which they account the Matter and Form of Orders were neither of them of Christ's Institution. The Council of Florence, they say, hath declared both; the matter is that, by the delivery whereof the Order is confer'd, as that of Priesthood by the delivery of the Chalice with the Wine, and the Paten with the Bread; and the Form is, *Accipe potestatem offerendi Sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis & mortuis.* Now if neither of these  
 be



be owned by themselves to have been appointed by Christ, then it necessarily follows, that they cannot hold this to be a true and proper Sacrament. Imposition of hands they grant was used by the Apostles, and still continued in the Christian Church; and Bellarmin confesses that nothing else can be proved by Scripture to be the external Symbol in this Sacrament. And others are forced to say, that Christ hath not determined the Matter and Form of this Sacrament particularly, but hath left a latitude in it for the Church to determin it. Which in my opinion is clear giving up the Cause, as to this Sacrament.

Bell. de Sac.  
Ordinis, l. 1.  
c. 9.

It is observed by Arcudius, that the Council of Trent doth not declare the particular Matter and Form of this Sacrament, but only in general, that it is performed by words and external signs, Sess. 23. c. 3. From whence he infers, that the outward Sign was left to the Churches determination; and he saith, that Christ did particularly appoint the Matter and Form of some Sacraments, as of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and Extreme Unction, but not of others; and therefore in the Sacrament of Orders, he saith, Christ determined no more but that it should be conveyed by some visible sign; and so it may be either by the delivering the Vessels, or by the imposition of hands, or both. But we are to consider that the Council of Florence was received by the Council of Trent; and that it is impossible to reconcile this Doctrin with the general Definition of a Sacrament by the Roman Catechism, viz. that it is a sensible thing which by the Institution of Christ hath a power of causing as well as signifying Grace; which implies that the external Sign which conveys Grace must be appointed by the Authour of the Sacrament it self; or else the Church must have Power to annex Divine Grace to its own appointments.

Arcud. de Sa-  
cram. l. 6. c. 4.

M

But

But here lies the main difficulty, the Church of *Rome* hath altered both *Matter* and *Form* of this Sacrament from the primitive Institution; and yet it dares not disallow the Ordinations made without them, as is notorious in the Case of the *Greek Church*; and therefore they have been forced to allow this latitude as to the *Matter* and *Form* of this Sacrament; although such an allowance doth really overthrow its being a true and proper *Sacrament* on their own grounds.

Lugo de Sac.  
Disp. 2. sect. 5.  
n. 85.

n. 92.

Yet this Doctrine hath very much prevailed of late among their chief Writers. Cardinal *Lugo* confesses, that of old Priesthood was conferred by imposition of Hands with suitable Words; and he saw it himself so done at *Rome*, without delivering the Vessels by Catholick Greek Bishops. He saith farther, that the Fathers and Councils are so plain for the conferring Priesthood by imposition of hands, that no one can deny it; but yet he must justify the *Roman Church* in assuming new *Matter* and *Form*, which he doth by asserting that *Christ* left the Church at liberty as to them.

Ysambert de  
Sacram. Ordinis,  
Disp. 3.  
Art. 6.

Hallier de Sa-  
cris Elec. &  
Ordinat. sect. 2.  
c. 2. art. 1.

*Nicol. Ysambertus* debates the point at large, and his Resolution of it is, that *Christ* determined only the general matter, but the particular sign was left to the Church; and he proves by Induction that the Church hath appointed the external sign in this Sacrament, and as to the Order of Priesthood he proves that Imposition of hands was of old an essential part of it, but now it is only accidental.

*Franciscus Hallier* confesses the *Matter* of this Sacrament to have been different in different times. In the Apostles times and many Ages after, hardly any other can be found but imposition of hands, as he proves from *Scripture* and *Fathers*. He carries his proofs down as low as the *Synod* of *Aken* in the time of *Ludovicus Pius*, and the Council of *Meaux*, A. D. 845. but afterwards he

he saith, *that by the Council of Florence and the common Opinion of their Divines, the delivery of the Vessels is the essential matter of this Sacrament.* Here we find a plain change in the *Matter* of a *Sacrament* owned after the continuance of above 800 years; and yet we must believe the *Tradition* of this Church to have been always the same. Which is impossible by the Confession of their own Writer. He cannot tell just the time when the change was made, but he concludes it was before the time of the *Vetus Ordo Romanus*, which mentions the Vessels. p. 439.

*Petrus a Sancto Joseph saith, that by Christ's Institution there is a latitude allowed in the matter of Orders; but he shews not where; but he thinks, of it self it consists in the delivery of the Vessels, but by the Pope's permission Imposition of Hands may be sufficient.* Which is a Doctrine which hath neither Scripture, Reason nor Tradition for it. Petr. à Sanct. Joseph, Idea Theod. Sac. l. 4. c. 1. p. 396.

*Joh. Morinus shews that there are five Opinions in the Church of Rome about the matter of this Sacrament. The first and most common is that it consists in the delivery of the Vessels. The second, that Imposition of Hands together with that makes up the matter. The third, that they convey two different powers. The fourth, that Unction with Imposition of Hands is the matter. The fifth, that Imposition of Hands alone is it; and this, saith he, the whole Church, Greek and Latin, ever owned; but he saith, he can bring two demonstrations against the first, i. e. against the general sense of the now Roman Church.* Morin. de Sacris Ordin. Part. 3. Ex. ecrit. 7. c. 1.

1. From the Practice of the Greek Church, which never used it.
2. From the old Rituals of the Latin Church, which do not mention them; and he names some above 800 years old; and in none of them he finds either the *Matter* or *Form* of this Sacrament, as it is now practised in the

Church of Rome ; nor in *Isidore, Alcuinus, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus, Valafridus Strabo*, although they wrote purposely about these things. He thinks it was first received into the publick Offices in the tenth Age. Afterwards he saith, he wonders how it came about that any should place the essential Matter of Ordination only in delivery of the Vessels, and exclude the Imposition of Hands, which alone is mentioned by Scripture and Fathers. And again he saith, it strikes him with astonishment that there should be such an alteration, both as to Matter and Form. And at last he saith, Christ hath determined no particular Matter and Form in this Sacrament.

But still the Difficulty returns, how this can be a true and proper Sacrament, whose Matter and Form depend on divine Institution, when they confess there was no divine Institution for the Matter and Form in Orders ?

Bell. de Sa-  
cram. l. 1. c. 24.

*Bellarmin* (as is proved before) hath a Chapter on purpose to prove that the Matter and Form of Sacraments are so determin'd, that it is not lawful to add, diminish or alter them ; and he charges it on *Luther* as a part of his Heresie, that no certain Form of words was required to Sacraments : and he makes it no less than Sacrilege to change the Matter of them. So that all such who hold the Matter and Form in Orders to be mutable, must either charge the Church of Rome with Sacrilege, or deny Orders to be a true and proper Sacrament.

## Of the Sacrament of Penance.

The next new *Sacrament* is that of *Penance*. They are agreed, that *Matter* and *Form* are both necessary to a true and proper *Sacrament*. The *Matter* is the external or sensible *Sign*; and what is that in this New *Sacrament*?

There are two things necessary to the *Matter* of a *Sacrament* :

1. That it be an *External and sensible Sign*; which S. *Augustin* calls an *Element* in that known Expression, *Accedat verbum ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum*; which *Bellarmin* would have understood only of *Baptism* there spoken of; but S. *Augustin*'s meaning goes farther, as appears by his following Discourse, and immediately he calls a *Sacrament* *verbum visibile*; and therefore cannot be applied to Words as they are heard, for so they have nothing of a *Sacramental sign* in them. How then can *Contrition* make up any part of the *Matter* of a *Sacrament*, when it is not external? How can *Confession*, when it is no visible sign, nor any permanent thing as an *Element* must be? how can *satisfaction* be any part of the *Sacrament*, which may be done when the *Effect* of the *Sacrament* is over in *Abolution*?

2. There must be a *Resemblance* between the *Sign* and the *Thing signified*. Which St. *Augustin* is so peremptory in, that he denies there can be any *Sacrament* where there is no *Resemblance*. And from hence, he saith, the *Signs* take the name of the *Thing signified*; as after a certain manner the *Sacrament* of the *Body of Christ* is the *Body of Christ*.

And this was looked on as so necessary, that *Hugo de Sancto Victore* and *Peter Lombard* both put it into the Definition of a *Sacrament*, as  *Suarez* confesses, viz. that

it.

Aug. in Joh.  
Ty. 80.

St. Aug. E.  
ad Bonifac.

Suarez. Tom. 3.  
in 3. C. 2. 60.  
Disp. 1. 4. 3.  
sect. 4.

it is the visible appearance of Invisible Grace, which bears the similitude, and is the Cause of it. But this is left out of the Definition in the Roman Catechism, and Suarez thinks it not necessary, for the same Reason; because it is very hard to understand the similitude between words spoken in Confession, and the Grace supposed to be given by Absolution, any more than in the words of Abrenunciation, and the Grace of Baptism. How can the Act of the Penitent signify the Grace conveyed in Absolution? For there is no effect of the Sacrament till Absolution, by their own Confession; and therefore the Acts of the Penitent being antecedent to it, and of a different nature from it, can have no such Resemblance with it, as to signify or represent it.

*Concil Flor.  
Decr. Union.  
Concil. Trid.  
Sess. 14. c. 3.*

However the Councils of Florence and Trent have declared, that the Acts of the Penitent, viz. Contrition, Confession and Satisfaction, are as the matter in the Sacrament. *Quasi materia*: What is this *quasi materia*? Why not, are the matter? Is not true matter necessary to a true Sacrament? If there be none true here, then this can be but *quasi Sacramentum*, as it were a Sacrament, and not truly and properly so. But if it be true matter, why is it not so declared? But common Sense hindred them, and not the difference between the matter here and in other Sacraments. For in the Definition of Sacraments they were to regard the Truth, and not the kind of Matter. They are not solid and permanent Matter, saith Bellarmine; not Matter externally applied, saith Soto; not any Substance but humane Acts, saith Vasquez; but none of these clear the point. For still if it be true Matter of a Sacrament, why was it not so declared? Why such a term of Diminution added, as all men must understand it, who compare it with the expressions about the other Sacraments?

*Bell. de panis.  
l. 1. c. 16. Soto  
in l. 4. sent. d.  
14. q. 1.  
Vasq. in 3. p.  
q. 84 Art. 1.  
n. 9.*

But



But they knew very well there was a considerable Party in the Church of *Rome*, who denied the *Acts of the Penitent* to be the *Matter or Parts* of this *Sacrament*. The *Council of Colen* (but little before the *Council of Trent*) excludes the *Acts of the Penitent* from any share in this *Sacrament*: which *Bellarmin* denies not, but blames *Gropperus*, the supposed Author of the *Enchiridion*. But *Gropperus* was thought fit to be a *Cardinal* as well as *Bellarmin*; and certainly knew the *Tradition* of the Church if there had been any such in this matter. The *Council of Florence*, it is plain, he thought not to be a sufficient declarer of it. No more did *Joh. Major*, who after it denied this *Sacrament* to consist of *Matter and form*, or that the *Acts of the Penitent* were the parts of it. So did *Gabriel Biel*, who refuses the contrary Opinion, and saith *Contrition* can be no part, because it is no sensible sign; and satisfaction may be done after it. So that he cuts off two parts in three of the *Matter* of this pretended *Sacrament*.

*Guido Brianfon*, who lived after the *Council of Florence* supposes no certain *Tradition* in the Church about this matter; but he sets down both Opinions with their Reasons, and prefers that which excludes the *Acts of the Penitent* from being parts of the *Sacrament*; although the *Florentine Council* had declared the contrary.

*Durandus* rejects two parts in three of those declared by the two Councils, and for the same Reasons mentioned by *Biel*.

*Ockam* absolutely denies all three to be *Parts of the Sacrament*. And so did *Scotus* before him; whose words are remarkable, *De Pœnitentia Sacramento dico, quod illa tria nullo modo sunt partes ejus, viz. These three are by no means any part of the Sacrament of Penance*; and yet the *Council of Trent* not only declares that they are so, but denounces

*Enchirid. Colen. f. 180.*

*Bell. de pœnit. l. 1. c. 16.*

*Major. in 4. sent. dist. 14. q. 2.*

*Biel in 4. dist. 14. q. 2.*

*Brianfon in 4. sent. Q. 8. Concl. 3.*

*Durand. in 1. 4. dist. 16. q. 1.*

*Ockam in 4. sent. q. 8. Scot. in 1. 4. sent. dist. 16. Q. 1.*

Council. Trid.  
Sess. 14. de  
Pœnis. Sacr.  
Can. 4.

denounces an *Anathema* against him that denies them to be required, as the *Matter* of the *Sacrament of Penance*. And let any one by this judge what *Catholick Tradition* it proceeded upon; when some of the greatest Divines in the Church of *Rome* were of another Opinion.

Can. 9.

As to the *Form* of this *Sacrament* the Council of *Trent* denounces an *Anathema* against those who affirm *Absolution* to be only declarative of the Remission of Sins: and yet I shall prove that this was the more current Doctrin, even in the Church of *Rome*, up to the Master of the *Sentences*.

Biel in 4. dist.  
14. q. 2. not. 2.

*Gabriel Biel* saith, the ancient Doctors did commonly follow it; but it was supposed by *Scotus*, because it seemed to take off from the efficacy of *Absolution*, and consequently make it no *Sacrament*, which is a cause of *Grace*. But after he hath set down *Scotus* his Arguments, he saith, that Opinion were very desirable, if it had any Foundation in Scripture or Fathers. And to his Arguments he answers, that true *Contrition* obtains Pardon with God, before *Sacerdotal Absolution*, but not with the Church; and that *Contrition* supposes a desire of *Absolution*; which will never hold to make *Absolution* to confer the *Grace* of Remission, if the Sin be really forgiven before. For what is the desire of the Penitent to the force of the *Sacrament* administered by the Priest? And he saith, they all grant, that by true and sufficient *Contrition* the sin is forgiven without the *Sacrament* in act, i. e. the actual receiving *absolution*. So that here was an universal Tradition as to the Power of *Contrition*, but in the other they had different Opinions.

Marfil. in. 4.  
sent. 9. 12.  
Ar. 2.

*Marfilius* saith, that God forgives sin upon *Contrition* Authoritatively; the Priests *Absolution* is ministerial in the Court of Conscience, and before the Church. And those sins which God first absolves from principally and Authentically,

cally, the Priest afterwards absolves from in right of the Church, as its Minister.

*Tostatus* saith, that the Priests Absolution follows God's, *Tostat. De-  
Ockam*, that the Priests then bind and loose, when they *scns. part. 1.  
c. 6.*  
shew men to be bound or loosed; and for this he relies on *Ockam in l. 4.  
q. 9. a. 4. ad 1.*  
the Master of the Sentences.

*Thomas de Argentina*, that the Power of the Keys doth *Thom. de Ar-  
gent. l. 4.*  
extend to the Remission of the fault which was done before *Dist. 18. a 3.*  
by Contrition; but it tends to the Increase of Grace in the  
Person.

*Gulielmus Antissiodore*, that Contrition takes away the *Gul. Antisf.  
l. 4. f. 254.*  
guilt and punishment of Sin, as to God and Conscience, but  
not as to the Church, for a man is still bound to undergo  
the Penance which the Church enjoyns him.

*Bonaventure*, that Absolution presupposes Grace; for no *Bonavent. l. 4.  
dist. 18. q. 1.*  
Priest would absolve any one whom he did not presume God  
had absolved before.

*Alexander Hales*, that where God doth not begin in Ab- *Alex. Halensf.  
part. 4. q. 21.  
memb. 3. art. 1.*  
solution, the Priest cannot make it up.

But the Master of the Sentences himself most fully handles this point; and shews from the Fathers, that God alone can remit sin both as to the Fault and the Punishment due to it. And the Power of the Keys, he saith, is like the Priests Judgment about Leprosie in the Levitical Law, God healed the Person, and the Priest declared him healed. Or as our Saviour first raised Lazarus, then gave him to his Disciples to be loosed. He is loosed before God, but not in the face of the Church but by the Priests Judgment. Another way, he saith, Priests bind by enjoining Penance, and they loose by remitting it, or readmitting Persons to Communion upon performing it.

This Doctrine of *Peter Lombard's* is none of those in quibus Magister non tenetur; for we see he had followers of great Name, almost to the Council of Trent. But it

Vasquez in 3.  
Q. 84. A. 3.  
dub. 2. 17.

happened, that both *Th. Aquinas* and *Scotus* agreed in opposing this Doctrin; and the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* bearing greatest sway in the Debates of the Council of *Trent*, what they agreed in, passed for *Catholick Tradition*. And *Vasquez* is in the right when he saith, *this Doctrin was condemned by the Council of Trent*; and so was *Scotus*, when he said, *that it did derogate from the Sacrament of Penance*; for in truth it makes it but a *nominal Sacrament*, since it hath no Power of conferring Grace; which the Council of *Trent* makes necessary to a *true and proper Sacrament*.

The main Point in this Debate is, whether *true contrition* be required to *Absolution* or not? Which *Scotus* saw well enough and argues accordingly. For none of them deny, that where there is true Contrition, there is immediately an *Absolution* before God; and if this be required before the *Priests Absolution*, he can have no more to do, but to pronounce or declare him absolved. But if something less than *Contrition* do qualifie a Man for *Absolution*, and by that Grace be conveyed, then the Power of *Absolution* hath a great and real Effect; for it puts a Man into a *State of Grace* which he had not been in without it. And from hence came the Opinion, that *Attrition* with *Absolution* was sufficient; and they do not understand the Council of *Trent's* Doctrin of the *Sacrament of Penance*, who deny it, as will appear to any one that reads the 4th Chapter of the *Sacrament of Penance*, and compares it with the 7, and 8 Canons about *Sacraments in general*. It is true that Contrition is there said to have the first place in the *Acts* of the Penitent; but observe what follows: *True Contrition reconciles a Man to God, before he receives this Sacrament*. What hath the Priest then to do, but to declare him reconciled? But it saith not without the desire of it. Suppose not, yet the

the thing is done upon the desire, & therefore the Priests Power can be no more than declarative. And that such a Desire is so necessary as without Contrition avails not, is more than the Council hath proved, and it is barely supposed, to maintain the Necessity of going to the Priest for *Absolution*; and so it will be no more than a Precept of the *Church*, and not a condition of Remission in the Sacrament of *Penance*. But afterwards, it declares that imperfect *Contrition* or *Attrition* doth dispose a Man for the Grace of God in this Sacrament; and by the general Canons, the Sacraments do confer Grace where Men are disposed. So that the Council of *Trent* did rightly comprehend the force of the Power of *Absolution*, which it gave to the Priest in the Sacrament of *Penance*.

But what *Catholick Tradition* could there be for the Doctrin of the Council of *Trent* in this matter, when *Hadrian* 6. so little before it declares, it was a great difficulty among the Doctors, whether the Keys of Priesthood did extend to the Remission of the Fault? And for the Negative he produces *Pet. Lombard*, *Alex. Alenf.* and *Bonaventure*; and saith, that Opinion is probable, because the Priests Power of binding and loosing is equal; and as they cannot bind where God doth not, for they cannot retain the sins of a true Penitent; so neither can they loose where God doth not, i. e. where there is not true *Contrition*. But because he saith others held the contrary Opinion, and had probability on their side too, therefore he would determine nothing. Notwithstanding this, in a few years after, the Council of *Trent* finds no difficulty, no Probability in the other Opinion; but determines as boldly, as if there had been an *Universal Tradition* their way; whereas the contrary cannot be denied by any that are conversant in the Doctrin of their Schools. But it was the mighty Privilege of the Council of *Trent*, to make the Doctrins of

*Hadrian*  
*Quodlib. q. 5.*  
*3. princip.*

*Thomas and Scotus*, when they agreed, to be *Articles of Faith*; and to denounce *Anathema's* against Opposers, although they reached to some of the greatest Divines of their own Church, within *Bellarmin's* compass of 500 Years.

### Of Extreme Unction.

*Concil. Trid.  
Sess. 14. Can.  
1, 2.*

*Cap. 1, 2, 3.*

*Suarez in 3.  
part. disp. 39.  
sect. 1. n. 5.*

*Bell. de Extr.  
Unct. c. 2.  
Mald. de Sa-  
cram. Extr.  
Unct. q. 2.*

We are now to examin another pretended Sacrament, viz. of *Extreme Unction*. The Council of *Trent* declares this to be a true and proper Sacrament, and denounces an *Anathema* against him that denies it to be instituted by *Christ*, and published by *St. James*; or that it confers *Grace* and *Remission of Sins*; or that affirms it was appointed for bodily Cures. It farther declares from the place of *St. James* interpreted by Tradition, that the Matter is Oil consecrated by the Bishop; The Form, that which is now used, *Per istam unctionem, &c.* the Effect, the *Grace of the Holy Ghost* in purging away the remainder of Sin, and strengthening the Soul; and sometimes bodily cures, when it is expedient for the Health of the Soul. So that the primary Intention of this Sacrament must respect the Soul, otherwise it is granted, it could not be a true and proper Sacrament. So *Suarez* faith in this Case, If the external Sign be not immediately appointed for a spiritual Effect, it cannot prove a true Sacrament of the New Law; no not although the bodily cure were designed for the strengthening of Faith. And from hence he proves, that when the Apostles are said to anoint the sick, and heal them, *Mark 6. 13.* this cannot relate to the Sacrament of Unction, because their cures had not of themselves an immediate respect to the Soul. The same Reason is used by *Bellarmin*, *Sacramenta per se ad animam pertinent, ad corpus per accidens aut certe secundario.* The same is affirmed by *Maldonat*, although



though he differs from *Bellarmin* about the Apostles anointing with Oil, which *Bellarmin* denies to have been *Sacramental* for this Reason, but *Maldonat* affirms it; and answers other Arguments of *Bellarmin*, but not this.

*Gregory de Valentia* carries it farther, and saith, that if the anointing with Oil were only a Symbol of a miraculous Cure, it could be no Sacrament; for that is a Medium to convey supernatural Grace, and then it would last no longer than the Gift of Miracles.

Greg. de Val.  
To. 4. Disp. 8.  
Q. 1. Punct. 1.

So that we have no more to do, but only to prove that by the Tradition of the Church *St. James* his anointing was to be understood with respect to bodily cures in the first place.

We cannot pass over so great a Man as *Cajetan*, who wrote on that place of *St. James*, not long before the Council of *Trent*, and a good while after the Council of *Florence*, which relies on this place for this Sacrament of *Unction*. But *Cajetan* saith, it doth not relate to it, because the immediate effect is the cure of the Party in *Saint James*; but in this Sacrament the direct and proper effect is Remission of Sins. All that *Catharinus* hath to say against this, is, that the bodily cure is not repugnant to it; but what is this to the purpose, when the Question is, what is primarily designed in this place?

Cath. Annot.  
in Comments.  
Cajet. l. 5.  
p. 464.

The School Divines, from *Peter Lombard*, had generally received this for a Sacrament; but the Canonists denied it, as appears by the Gloss on c. *Vir autem de Secund. Nuptiis Decret. Gregor. Tit. 21.* where it is said, that this *Unction* might be repeated, being no Sacrament but only Prayer over a Person. The Roman Correctors cry out it is *Herésie* by the Council of *Trent*; but the Glosser knew no such thing; and if it were so only by the Council of *Trent*, then not by any *Catholick Tradition*.

tion before. For, I suppose matter of *Heresie* must reach to the *Canonists*, as well as the *Divines*.

But the plainest determination of this matter will be by the ancient *Offices* of the Church ; for if they respected *bodily Cures* in the first place, then it is owned there could be no *Tradition* for any *Sacrament* in this *Unction*.

In the ancient *Ordo Romanus* it is called *Benedictio Olei ad omnem Languorem quocunque tempore*. I desire to know whether the Oil so consecrated be chiefly designed for the *Body* or the *Soul*. And in the *Office* it self, this place of St. *James* is mentioned : And then follows, *Te Domine peritissimum Medicum imploramus, ut virutis tue Medicinam in hoc Oleum propitius infundas*. And a little after; *Prosit Pater Misericordiarum, febribus & dysenteria laborantibus, prosit paralyticis, cecis & claudis simulque vexatitiis*, with abundance more ; which manifestly shews that this consecrated Oil was intended primarily for the cure of *Diseases*.

In the *Ambrosian Form*, the Prayer is, *Infunde sanctificationem tuam huic Oleo, ut ab his quæ unxerit membra, fugatis insidiis adversaria potestatis, susceptione presentis Olei, Sancti Spiritus Gratia salutaris debilitatem expellat & plenam conferat sospitatem*, Where the effect relates to the soundness of the Members anointed, and not to the Sins committed by them.

Sac. Greg.  
p. 252.

In the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, published by *Menardus*, there is a *Prayer* wherein this place of St. *James* is mentioned ; and presently it follows, *Cura quæsumus Redemptor noster gratia Spiritus Sancti languores istius infirmi, &c.* and immediately before the anointing, *Sana Domine infirmum istum, cujus ossa turbata sunt, &c.* and while he was anointing, the Patient was to say, *Sana me Domine* ; and where the pain was greatest, he was to be so much more anointed, *ubi plus dolor imminet amplius perungatur*.

While

While the rest were anointing, one of the Priests was to pray, *pristinam & immelioratam recipere merearis sanitatem*; what was this but bodily health? and yet this was *per hanc Sacramenti Olei Unctionem*: after which follows a long Prayer for Recovery from Pains and Diseases.

And such there are in the several Offices published by Menardus, in his Notes; although the general strain of them shews that they were of latter times, when the Unction was supposed to expiate the Sins of the several Senses.

Cassander produces many instances to shew, that the Prayers and Hymns, and the Form of anointing did respect bodily health. In one he finds this Form, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti accipe sanitatem. Not the health of the Mind, but the Body.* Cassand. not. in Hymn. p. 288.

Maldonat takes notice of Cassander's Offices, and the expressions used in them; but he gives no answer to the main design of them. But three things he owns the Church of Rome to have varied from the ancient Tradition in, with respect to this Sacrament. 1. As to the Form; the Council of Trent owns no other but that now used, *Per istam Unctionem, &c.* but Maldonat confesses it was Indicative, *Ego te ungo, &c.* or *Ungo te Oleo sancto, &c.* and he runs to that shift, that Christ did not not determine any certain Form; whereas the Council of Trent saith, the Church understood by Tradition the other to have been the Form. Here the Council of Trent makes an appeal to Tradition, and is deserted in it, by one of its most zealous defenders; and Gamachus affirms this to be an essential Change; and he thinks the Sacrament not to be valid in another Form. Suarez thinks the other Form not sufficient. But Maldonat affirms the other Form was used; and so at that time, there was no Sacrament of Maldonat. de Sacramen. exir. Unct. q. 1.

Gamach. de Exir. Unct. c. 3.  
Suarez in 3. part. Disp. 40. scilicet 3.

Greg. Sacr.

p. 252.

Menard. Not.

p. 337.

p. 342.

p. 353.

p. 352.

Suarez *ibid.*

c. 3.

Mald. *ib.* q. 3

of *extreme Unction*, because not administred in a valid or sufficient *Form*. And yet in the *Gregorian Office* the *Form* is *Indicative*, *Inungo te de Oleo sancto, &c.* So in that of *Ratoldus*, *Ungo te Oleo sanctificato in nomine Patris, &c.* In the *Tilian Codex*, *Inungo te in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Oleo sancto atque sacrato, &c.* In the *Codex Remigii* the general *Forms* are *Indicative*, *Ungo te Oleo sancto, &c.* but there being a variety of *Forms* let down, among the rest there is one, *Per istam Unctionem Dei, &c.* Which afterwards came to be the standing *Form*; and yet the Council of *Trent* confidently appeals to *Tradition* in this matter. Which shewed how very little the *Divines* there met were skilled in the *Antiquities* of their own *Church*. *Suarez* shews his skill when he saith, *the Tradition of the Roman Church is infallible in the Substance of this Sacrament, and that it always used a deprecativ Form*; but *Maldonat* knew better, and therefore on their own grounds their *Tradition* was more than fallible; since the *Roman Church* hath actually changed the *Form* of this *Sacrament*. 2. *Maldonat* observes another *change*, and that is as to the *Season* of administring it. For the Council of *Trent* saith it ought to be in *Exitu Vitæ*, and therefore it is called *Sacramentum Exeuntium*, *the Sacrament of dying Persons*; but *Maldonat* saith, *it is an abuse to give it only to such; for, in the ancient Church, they did not wait till the party were near death; but, he saith, it was given before the Eucharist, and that not once, but for seven days together, as is plain, he saith, in the ancient MS. Offices; and he quotes Albertus Magnus for it.* So that here is another great *change* in the *Roman Tradition* observed and owned by him. 3. In not giving it now to *Children*; for in the ancient *Writers* he saith, *there is no exception, but it was used to all that were sick*; and he quotes *Cusanus* for saying

saying expressly *that it was anciently administred to Infants*. But the reason of the *change* was the Doctrin of the *Schoolmen*; for with their admirable Congruities they had fitted *Sacraments* for all sorts of sins; as *Bellarmin* informs us; *Baptism* against *Original Sin*, *Confirmation* against *Infirmity*, *Penance* against *actual Mortal Sin*, *Eucharist* against *Malice*, *Orders* against *Ignorance*, *Matrimony* against *Concupiscence*; and what is now left for *Extreme Unction*? *Bellarmin* saith, *they are the Remainers of sin*; and so saith the *Council of Trent*. But what *Remainers* are there in *Children*, who have not actually sinned, and *Original sin* is done away already? Therefore the Church of *Rome* did wisely take away *Extreme Unction* from *Children*; but therein *Maldonat* confesses it is gone off from *Tradition*. I know *Alegambe* would have *Maldonat* not believed to be the Author of the *Books* of the *Sacraments*; but the Preface before his Works hath cleared this beyond contradiction from the *MSS.* taken from his Mouth with the day and year compared with the Copy printed under his Name. But if *Maldonat* may be believed, the Church of *Rome* hath notoriously gone off from its own *Tradition* as to this Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*.

Bell. de Sac.  
l. 2. c. 26.

c. 2.

### Of Matrimony.

The last new *Sacrament* is that of *Matrimony*; which having its institution in *Paradise*, one would wonder how it came into mens heads to call it a *Sacrament of the New Law*, instituted by *Christ*; especially when the *Grace* given by it supposes *Mankind* in a fallen condition. Hower the *Council of Trent* denounces an *Anathema* against him that saith that *Matrimony* is not truly

Conc. Trid.  
Sess. 24. c. 1.

O

and

and properly a Sacrament, one of the Seven of the Evangelical Law, instituted by Christ.

That which is truly and properly a Sacrament must be a Cause of Grace, according to the general Decrees about the Nature of Sacraments. So that those who do not hold the latter, must deny the former.

Now that there was no Tradition even in the Roman Church for this, I prove from the Confession of their own most learned Divines since the Council of Trent.

Valq. de Sac.  
Matrim. Disp.  
2. c. 1.

Vasquez confesses that Durandus denies that it confers Grace, and consequently that it is truly a Sacrament, (but he yields it in a large improper sense) and that the Canonists were of his Opinion; and that the Master of the Sentences himself asserted no more than Durandus. And which adds more to this, he confesses that Soto durst not condemn this Opinion as heretical, because Thomas, Bonaventure, Scotus and other Schoolmen did only look on their own as the more probable Opinion. But, faith he, after the Decree of Eugenius and the Council of Trent it is heretical.

v. 3.

Greg. de Val.  
To. 4. Disp. 10.  
Punct. 5.

Gregory de Valentia faith the same thing, only he adds that the Master of the Sentences contradicts himself. So certain a deliverer was he of the Churches Tradition; and wonders that Soto should not find it plainly enough in the Councils of Florence and Trent, that a true Sacrament must confer Grace.

Mald. de Sac.  
Matrim. q. 1.

Maldonat yields, that Durandus and the Canonists denied Matrimony to be a proper Sacrament, but he calls them Catholicks imprudently erring.

Bell. de Matr.  
Sac. l. 1. c. 5.

Bellarmin denies it not; but uses a disingenuous shift about Durandus, and would bring it to a Logical Nicety, whereas the very Arguments he pretends to answer, shew plainly that he denied this to be a true and proper Sacrament.

But



But he offers something considerable about the *Canonists* if it will hold.

1. *That they were but a few*, and for this he quotes *Navarr*, that the common Opinion was against them; for which he mentions the *Rubrick de Spons.* but I can find nothing like it through the whole *Title*; and it is not at all probable that such Men as *Hostiensis* and the *Glosser* should be ignorant of, or oppose the common Opinion. *Hostiensis* saith plainly, that *Grace is not conferr'd by Matrimony*, and never once mentions any Opinion among them against it; and the *Glosser* upon *Gratian* affirms it several times, *Caus. 32. q. 2 c. Honorantur, In hoc Sacramento non confertur Gratia Spiritus Sancti sicut in aliis.* The *Roman Correctors* could not bear this; and say in the Margin, *immo confert*; this is plain contradicting; but how is it proved from the *Canon Law*? They refer to *Dist. 23. c. his igitur, v. pro beneficiis.* Thither upon their Authority I go; and there I find the very same thing said, and in the same words; and it is given as a Reason why *Symony* cannot be committed in *Matrimony* as in other Sacraments, and in both places we are referr'd to *32 q. 2. c. connubia*, and to *1. q. 1. c. quicquid invisibilis*, the former is not very favourable to the *Grace of Matrimony*; and in the latter the *Gloss* is yet more plain, if it be possible, *Nota Conjugium non esse de his Sacramentis que consolationem celestis gratia tribuunt.* There the *Correctors* fairly refer us to the *Council of Trent*, which hath decreed the contrary. But that is not to our business, but whether the *Canonists* owned this or not. And there it follows, that other Sacraments do so signify as to convey, this barely signifies. So that I think *Bellarmin* had as good have given up the *Canonists*, as to make so lame a Defence of them.

Navar. Man.  
c. 22. n. 20

Hostiens. Sum.  
de Sac. non  
iter. n. 7.

Durand. in  
sent. l. 4. Dist.  
26. q. 3.

2. He saith we are not to rely on the Canonists for these things, but on the Divines. But Durand saith, the Canonists could not be ignorant of the Doctrin of the Roman Church; for some of them were Cardinals; and he gives a better Reason, viz. that the sense of the Roman Church was to be seen in the Decretals. For therefore Marriage was owned to be a Sacrament in the large sense, because of the Decret. of Lucius III. *Extra de heret. c. ad abolendam*; but the Schoolmen argued from Probabilities and Niceties in this matter, which could not satisfie a Man's understanding; as appears by Durandus his Arguments, and Bellarmin's Answers to them.

1. Where Sacraments confer Grace, there must be a Divine Institution of something above Natural Reason, but there is nothing of that kind in Matrimony, besides the signifying the Union between Christ and his Church; and therefore it is only a Sacrament in a large, and not in a proper sense.

Eell. de Sacr.  
Matr. l. 1. c. 5.

In answer to this Bellarmin saith, that it both signifies and causes such a Love between Man and Wife, as there is between Christ and his Church.

Vasq. da Sacr.  
Matr. Disp. 2.  
c. 6.  
Basil. Pont.  
de Matr. l. 1.  
c. 5. n. 10.

But Vasquez saith, that the Resemblance as to Christ and his Church in Matrimony, doth not at all prove a promise of Grace made to it. And Basilins Pontius approves of what Vasquez saith, and confesses, that it cannot be infer'd from hence that it is a true and proper Sacrament.

2. Here is nothing External added, besides the mere Contract of the Persons; but the nature of a Sacrament implies some external and visible sign.

Bellarmin answers, that it is not necessary there should be in this Sacrament any such extrinsecal sign; because it lies in a mere Contract. And that I think holds on the other side, that a mere Contract cannot be a Sacrament, from their own Definition of a Sacrament.

3. *The Marriage of Infidels was good and valid, and their Baptism adds nothing to it; but it was no Sacrament before, and therefore not after.*

*Bellarmin answers, that it becomes a Sacrament after.* And so there is a Sacrament without either Matter or Form; for there is no new Marriage.

4. *Marriage was instituted in the time of Innocency, and is a natural Dictate of Reason, and therefore no Sacrament.*

*Bellarmin answers, that it was no Sacrament then, because there was no need of Sacramental Grace. And although the Marriage of Adam and Eve did represent the Union between Christ and his Church; yet it was no proper Sacrament.* But how doth it prove that it is a Sacrament upon any other Account, under the Gospel? And if that doth not imply a promise of Grace, then how can it now?

So that *Durandus* his Reasons appear much stronger than *Bellarmin*'s Answers.

But *Durandus* urges one thing more, which *Bellarmin* takes no notice of, viz. *that this Opinion of the Canonists was very well known at that time, and was never condemned as contrary to any determination of the Church.* Now, if there had been any constant Tradition even of the Church of Rome against it, it is impossible these Canonists should have avoided Censure; their Opinion being so much taken notice of by the Schoolmen afterwards. *Jacobus Almain* saith, *it was a Controversie between the Canonists and Divines, whether Matrimony was a Sacrament; not all the Divines neither; for he confesses Durandus and others seemed to agree with them.* What Universal Tradition then had the Council of Trent to rely upon in this matter? When all the Canonists, according to *Almain*, and some of the Divines, opposed it? He sets down the

*Almain in 4.  
Dist. 26. q. 1.*

diffe-

different Reasons ; but never alledges matter of *Faith*, or *Tradition* against them, but only saith, *the Divines hold the other Opinion, because Matrimony is one of the Seven Sacraments*. But on what was the Opinion of the Necessity of *Seven Sacraments* grounded ? What Scripture, what Fathers, what Tradition was there, before *Peter Lombard*, for just that number ?

*The Sense of the Greek Church about Seven Sacraments.*

Bell. de Sacr.  
l. 2. c. 25.

De Matrim.  
Sacr. l. 1. c. 4.

But before I come to that, it is fit to take notice of what *Bellarmin* lays great weight upon, both as to the Number of the Sacraments in general, and this in particular ; which is, *the consent of both the Greek and Latin Church for at least 500 Years*. But I have shewed there was no such Consent, as is boasted of even in the *Latin Church*. As to the *Greek Church*, he saith, *it is an argument of Universal Tradition, when they had the same Tradition even in their Schism*.

To this I Answer.

1. We do not deny that the latter *Greeks*, after the taking *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, did hold *Seven Mysteries* ; which the *Latins* render *Sacraments*. For after there were *Latin Patriarchs* at *Constantinople*, and abundance of *Latin Priests* in the *Eastern Parts*, they had perpetual Disputes about Religion ; and the *Latins* by degrees did gain upon them in some points ; and particularly in this of *Seven Sacraments*, for the *Latins* thought it an advantage to their Church to boast of such a Number of *Sacraments* ; and the *Greeks* that they might not seem to come behind them, were willing to embrace the same Number.

The

The first Person among them who is said to have written about them, was *Simeon* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, whom *Possessin* sets at a greater distance, that the *Tradition* might seem so much elder among them; (for he makes him to have lived 600 years before his time;) but *Leo Allatius* hath evidently proved, that he lived not two hundred years before him, (which is a considerable difference,) for *Simeon* dyed but six months before the taking of *Thessalonica*, A.D. 1430, as he proves from *Job. Anagnosta*, who was present at the taking it. From hence it appears how very late this *Tradition* came into the *Greek Church*.

Possessin. in Appar.

Leo Allat. de Concord. l. 2. c. 18. n. 13. De Simeon. Script. p. 185. &c.

After him *Gabriel Severus*, Bishop of *Philadelphia*, wrote about the *Seven Sacraments*, and he lived at *Venice* in *Arcudius* his time, who wrote since *Possessin*; and *Crusius* wrote to this *Gabriel* A. D. 1580, and he was consecrated by *Jeremias* A. D. 1577. So that neither his *Autho-ri-ty*, or that of *Jeremias*, can signify any thing as to the *Antiquity* of this *Tradition* among the *Greeks*.

Crusii Titulo Græc.

*Leo Allatius* talks of the old as well as *Modern Greeks*, who held *Seven Sacraments*, but he produces the Testimony only of those who lived since the taking of *Constantinople*; as *Job the Monk*, *Simeon*, *Johannes Palaeologus*, *Jeremias*, *Gabriel*, *Cyrillus Berrhoensis*, *Parthenius*, and such like: But he very craftily saith, he produces these to let us see they have not gone off from the Faith of their Ancestors, whereas that is the thing we would have seen, viz. the Testimony of the *Greeks* before, and not afterwards. As to the ancient *Greeks*, he confesses they say nothing of the number. *De numero apud eos alium silentium est.* And how could there be a *Tradition* in so much silence? But some speak of some, and others of others, but all speak of all. This is a very odd way to prove a *Tradition* of a certain Number. For then, some might believe

Leo Allat. de Concord. l. 3. c. 16. n. 4.

n. 9.

n. 10.

n. 15.

n. 17.

believe Three, others Four, others Five, but how can this prove that all believed just *Seven*? However let us see the Proof. But instead of that he presently starts an *Objection from the pretended Dionysius Areopagita*, viz. *That where he designs to treat of all the Sacraments, he never mentions Penance, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony*; and after a great deal of rambling Discourse, he concludes *that he did ill to leave them out*; and that others Answers are insufficient. He shews from *Tertullian, Ambrose and Cyril* that the necessary Sacraments are mentioned; but where are the rest? and we are now enquiring after them in the ancient *Greek Church*; but they are not to be found. As one may confidently affirm, when one who professed so much skill in the *Greek Church*, as *Leo Allatius*, hath no more to say for the Proof of it.

2. Those Greeks who held *Seven Sacraments*, did not hold them in the Sense of the *Council of Trent*. And that for two Reasons.

Ad. Theolog.  
Wirtemberg.  
P. 240.

1. They do not hold them all to be of *divine Institution*. Which appears by the Patriarch *Jeremias* his Answer to the *Tubing Divines*, who at first seems to write agreeably to the Church of *Rome* in this matter, (except about *Extreme Unction*;) but being pressed hard by them in their Reply; he holds to the *Divine Institution of Baptism, and the Eucharist*, but gives up the rest, as *instituted by the Churches Authority*. Which is plain giving up the Cause. How then comes *Bellarmin* to insist so much on the Answer of *Jeremias*? The Reason was, that *Socolovius* had procured from *Constantinople* the *Patriarch's first answer*, and translated and printed it; upon which great Triumphs were made of the *Patriarch's Consent* with the Church of *Rome*; but when these *Divines* were hereby provoked to publish the whole proceedings,



ceedings, those of the Church of Rome were unwilling to be undeceived; and so take no notice of any farther Answer. Since the time of *Jeremias*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, (as he was afterwards,) *Metrophanes Critopolus* published an Account of the Faith of the Greek Church; and he saith expressly of Four of the Seven, *that they are Mystical Rites, and equivocally called Sacraments*. And from hence it appears how little Reason *Leo Allatus* had to be angry with *Caucus*, a Latinized Greek, like himself, for affirming *that the modern Greeks did not look on these Sacraments as of Divine Institution*; but after he hath given him some hard words, he offers to prove his Assertion for him. To which end he not only quotes that passage of the Patriarch *Jeremias*, but others of *Job* and *Gregorius*; from whence he infers, *that Five of the Sacraments were of Ecclesiastical Institution*, and he saith nothing to take it off. So admirably hath he proved the Consent of the *Eastern and Western Churches*!

Metroph. Confess. Eccl. Orient. p. 74.

Leo Allat. de Concord. Eccl. Occident. & Orient. l. 3. c. 17.

2. They do not agree in the *Matter, or Form*, or some essential part of them, with the Council of *Trent*, and therefore can make up no *Tradition* for the *Doctrine* of that Council about the *Seven Sacraments*. This will be made appear by going through them.

### 1. Of Chrism.

1. As to the *Form*, *Arcudius* shews, *that Gabriel of Philadelphia, Cabasilas and Marcus Ephesus, all place the Form in the Consecration of it*; but the Church of Rome makes the *Form* to lie in the *Words spoken in the Use of it*.

Arcud. de Concord. l. 2. c. 6.

2. As to the *Minister* of it. Among the *Greeks* it is commonly performed by the *Presbyter*, though the *Bishop* be present; but the Council of *Trent* denounces an

Concil. Trid. *Anathema* against him that saith, the Bishop alone is not the ordinary Minister of it.

Can. 3.  
De Sacram.  
Can. 9.

3. As to the Character. The Council of Trent declares that whosoever affirms that Confirmation doth not imprint an indelible Character, so as it cannot be repeated is *Anathematized*; but *Arcudius* shews at large, that the modern Greeks make no scruple of reiterating Confirmation. But *Catumfyrus*, another Latinized Greek, opposes *Arcudius* herein; and saith, that the Use of Chrism among the Greeks, doth not relate to the Sacrament of Confirmation, but was a Symbolical Ceremony relating to Baptism; and for this he quotes one *Corydaleus* a Man of great Note in the Patriarchal Church at Constantinople. Therefore *Caucus* had reason to deny that the Greeks receive that which the Latins call the Sacrament of Confirmation. And if this hold, then the Tradition of the Seven Sacraments must fail in the Greek Church. For they deny that they have any such thing as a Sacrament of Confirmation distinct from Baptism.

## 2. Of the Sacrament of Penance.

1. The Council of Trent declares *Absolution* of the Penitent to be a judicial Act, and denounces an *Anathema* against him that denies it; but the Greek Church uses a deprecative Form, (as they call it,) not pronouncing *Absolution* by way of Sentence, but by way of Prayer to God. Which as *Aquinas* observes, rather shews a Person to be absolved by God than by the Priest, and are rather a Prayer that it may be done, than a signification that it is done; and therefore he looks on such Forms as insufficient. And if it be a judicial Sentence, as the Council of Trent determines, it can hardly be reconciled to such a Form, wherein no kind of judicial Sentence was ever pronounced; as

*Arcu-*

Concil. Trid.  
de Penit.  
c. 6. can. 9.

Aq. 3. p. 9. 84.  
a. 3. ad. 1.

*Arcudius* grants ; and in *Extreme Unction*, where such a *Form* is allowed, there is, as he observes, no *Judicial Act*. But he hopes at last to bring the *Greeks* off by a Phrase used in some of their *Forms*, *I have you absolved* ; but he confesses it is not in their *Publick Offices*; and their *Priests* for the most part use it not. Which shews it to be an *Innovation* among the *Latinizing Greeks*, if it be so observed, which *Catumfyrus* denies, and saith, *he proves it only from some Forms granted by Patents*, which are not *Sacramental* ; and supposing it otherwise, he saith, *it is foolish, false and erroneous to suppose such a Form to be valid ; because it is no Judicial Act*.

*Arcud de Concord. 4. l. c. 3. p. 360.*

P. 370.

*Catumfyrus de vera Conc. Proleg. p. 153.*

2. The Council of *Trent* makes *Confession* of all *Mortal Sins*, how secret soever, to be necessary in order to the benefit of *Priestly Absolution* in this *Sacrament*, and denounces an *Anathema* against those that deny it ; but the *Greek Church* grants *Absolution* upon supposition that they have not confessed all *Mortal Sins*: As appears by the *Form* of the *Patriarch of Antioch*, produced by *Arcudius*, and another *Form* of the *Patriarch of Constantinople*, in *Jeremias* his Answer. *Arcudius* is hard put to it, when to excuse this he saith, *they only pray to God to forgive them* ; for this is to own that a *deprecativ Form* is insufficient, and so that there is no *Sacrament* of *Penance* in the *Greek Church*.

*Concil. Trid. de Penit. c. 5.*

Can. 7.

*Arcud. p. 373.*

### 3. Of Orders.

The *Greek* and *Latin Churches* differ, both as to *Matter* and *Form*. The Council of *Trent* *Anathematizeth* those who deny a *visible and external Priesthood* in the *New Testament* ; or a *Power of consecrating and offering the true Body and Blood of Christ*, and of *remitting and retaining*

*Sess. 23. de Sac. Ordin. Can. 1.*

of Sins. And this two-fold Power the Church of Rome exprest by a double Form, one of delivering the Vessels with Accipe Potestatem, &c. the other of Imposition of Hands, with Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.

But the Greek Church wholly omits the former, on which the greatest weight is laid in the Latin Church, and many think the Essential Form lies in it. When the Office of Ordination is over, the Book of the Liturgy, called *ХОВТІКІОН* is delivered to the Presbyter, but without any words; and there is no mention of it in their Rituals, either Printed or MSS. so likewise a parcel of consecrated Bread is delivered by the Bishop to him afterwards. And all the Form is, *The Divine Grace advances such an one to the Office of a Presbyter.*

If we compare this with the Form in the Council of Florence, we shall find no agreement either as to Matter or Form, in this Sacrament, between the Greek and Latin Churches. For there the Matter is said to be that by which the Order is conferred, viz. the delivery of the Chalice with Wine, and the Paten with the Bread; and the Form, Receive the Power of offering Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead. And it is hardly possible to suppose these two Churches should go upon the same Tradition. I know what pains Arcudius hath taken to reconcile them; but as long as the Decree of Eugenius stands, and is received in the Church of Rome, it is impossible. And Catumfrytus labours hard to prove, that he hath endeavoured thereby to overthrow the whole Order of Priesthood in the Roman Church.

## 4. Of Extreme Unction.

*Bellarmin* particularly appeals to the *Greek Church* for its consent as to this *Sacrament*; but if he means in the modern sense as it is deliver'd by the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*, he is extremely mistaken.

1. For the former saith, *it is not to be given but to such of whose death they are afraid*; and the Council of *Trent* calls it the *Sacrament of dying Persons*. But the *Greeks* administer their *Sacrament of Unction* to *Persons in health* as well as sickness, and once a year to all the *People* that will; which *Arcudius* saith, *is not only done by the illiterate Priests, but by their Patriarchs and Metropolitans, &c.* and they look on then as a *Supplement to the ancient Penance of the Church*; for they think the partaking of the *holy Oil* makes amends for that: but this *Arcudius* condemns as an abuse and innovation among them. But the original Intention and Design of it was for the Cure and Recovery of sick *Persons*; as *Arcudius* confesses the whole scope of the *Office* shews; and in the next Chapter he produces the *Prayers* to that end. And the *Greeks* charge the *Latins* with *Innovation* in giving this *Sacrament* to those *Persons* of whose *Recovery* they have no hope.

2. The Council of *Trent* requires that the *Oil of Extreme Unction* be consecrated by a *Bishop*; and this the *Doctors* of the *Roman Church*, saith *Catumfyrus*, make essential to the *Sacrament*. But in the *Greek Church* the *Presbyters* commonly do it, as *Arcudius* shews at large.

Bell. de Extr.  
Unct. l. 1. c. 4.

Arcud. de  
Concord. l. 5.  
c. 4.

p. 339.

c. 5.

c. 7. p. 403.

Conc. Trid.  
de Extr. Unct.  
c. 1.  
Catumfyr.  
Vera Concord.  
Tr. l. p. 156.  
Arcud. l. 5. c.  
c. 2.

## 5. Of Matrimony.

Conc. Trid.  
Sess. 24.  
Can. 7.

Bell. de Matr.  
l. 1. c. 16.

The Council of *Trent* from making this a *Sacrament*, denounces an *Anathema* against those who do not hold the Bond indissoluble, even in the Case of Adultery. And *Bellarmin* urges this as his first Reason, *because it is a sign of the Conjunction of Christ with his Church*. But the *Greek Church* held the contrary; and continues so to do, as both *Bellarmin* and *Arcudius* confess.

So that though there be allow'd a consent in the Number of *Sacraments* among the Modern *Greeks*, yet they have not an entire Consent with the Roman Church in any one of them.

*The Sense of other Eastern Churches about the Seven Sacraments.*

But to shew how late this Tradition of Seven Sacraments came into the *Greek Church*, and how far it is from being an *Universal Tradition*, I shall now make it appear that this Number of Sacraments was never received in the other Christian Churches, although some of them were originally descended from the Ancient *Greek Church*.

I begin with the most *Eastern Churches*, called the *Christians* of *St. Thomas* in the *East-Indies*. And we have a clear Proof that there was no Tradition among them about the Seven Sacraments. For when *Alexius Menezes*, Archbishop of *Goa*, undertook to reform them according to the *Roman Church*, (if that may be called a *Reformation*) and held a Council at *Diamper* to that purpose, *A. D. 1599. he found that they had no Sacrament of Chrism, or Penance, or Extreme Unction, of which*  
they



## for the Seven Sacraments.

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they were utterly ignorant, faith Jarricus from Antonius Goveanus, who was Prior of Goa, and published the whole proceedings. Which Book was translated out of Portuguese by Joh. Baptista a Glano into French, and printed at Brussels, 1609. From whence the Author of the Critical History of the Faith and Customs of the Eastern Nations hath given an Account of these things; and he saith, they owned but three Sacraments, Baptism, Eucharist and Orders; that they knew nothing of the Sacrament of Chrism or extreme Unction, and abhorred Auricular Confession. But in excuse of them he saith, that they joyned Confirmation with Baptism, as other Eastern Churches did; that the Sacrament of Extreme Unction as it is practised in the Church of Rome is known only to the Latin Church; but the Eastern Church had the Unction of S. James for the Cure of Diseases, as the Greek Church had.

Pet. Jarric.  
Rer Judic.  
To. 3. p. 2.  
c. 12.

Histoire Cri-  
tique, ch. 8.

P. 104.

P. 105.

P. 112.

P. 113.

P. 13.

Cotovicus affirms the same of the other Eastern Churches called Chaldean, (who are under the same Patriarch with the Christians of S. Thomas) that they knew nothing of the Sacraments of Confirmation and Extreme Unction. This Patriarch is the same which is commonly called the Patriarch of Babylon; whose Residence is at Mozal; but called of Babylon, because Selencia, after the desolation of the true Babylon had the name given to it (as it were easie to prove, if it were pertinent to this design) and upon the destruction of Selencia the Patriarch removed first to Bagdat and then to Mozal; whose Jurisdiction extends over all those Eastern Christians, which are called Nestorian.

Cotov. Iiin.  
Hierosol. &  
Syr. p. 206.

In the Abyssine Churches, Godignus saith positively from those who had been conversant among them, that they knew nothing of the Sacraments of Chrism and Extreme Unction; and that all the Confession they have is general and rare; and that they have no Bishops under the

Godign. de  
rebus Abyss.  
l. 1. c. 35.

c. 35.

the Abuna, and believe the bond of Matrimony easily dissolved. So that the Tradition of Seven Sacraments is wholly unknown to them, but as it was imposed by the Roman Missionaries; which imposition was so ill received there, and brought such Confusion and Disorders among them, that they are for ever banished.

Clem. Galan.  
Conc. Eccles.  
Arm. cum  
Rom. c. 30.  
p. 516.

In the Armenian Churches, *Joh. Chernacensis* a Lati-  
nized Armenian saith, that the Armenians owned not the  
Seven Sacraments, that they knew nothing of Chrism and  
Extreme Unction. Here we see a general consent as to  
the total ignorance of two of the Seven Sacraments in  
these Churches. But *Clemens Galanus*, who had been  
many years a Missionary among the Armenians endea-  
vours to prove that they had the Tradition of the seven  
Sacraments; but very unsuccessfully. For he produces  
none of their ancient Authors for it: but he names *Var-  
tanus* whom he sets himself to confute afterwards; and  
he confesses, that he took away the Sacrament of Penance,  
and made Burial of the Dead to be one of his seven. But  
more than that, he saith, the Armenian Churches have  
forbidden Extreme Unction as the Nestorians had done Auri-  
cular Confession. So that nothing like a truly Catholick  
Tradition can be produced for the Number of seven Sa-  
craments either in the Church of Rome or elsewhere,  
within *Bellarmin's* own term of 500 years.

Clem. Galan.  
To. 3. p. 439.

p. 636.

p. 605.

I am now to give an account when this Number of  
seven Sacraments, came into the Church, and on what  
Occasions it was advanced to be a point of Faith.

Hugo de S.  
Vict. de Offi-  
ciis l. 1. c. 12.

The first I can find who expressly set down the Num-  
ber of seven Sacraments, was *Hugo de S. Victore*, who  
lived in the twelfth Century, not long before *Peter Lom-  
bard*. But that there was an Innovation made by him  
in this matter, I shall make appear by comparing what  
he

he saith with what others had delivered who were short of the Primitive Fathers.

*Rupertus Tuitienfis* lived much about the same time in Germany that *Hugo* did at *Paris*, and he gives a different Resolution of the Question about the *Principal Sacraments*: For he names no more than *Baptism, the Eucharist and the double Gift of the Holy Ghost*; and, saith he, *these three Sacraments are necessary instruments of our Salvation*. But *Hugo* saith, *there are seven principal Sacraments*; (which sufficiently shews, that he thought there were other *Sacraments* besides these; and so he expresses his mind in another place, where he makes all *symbolical Signs* to be *Sacraments*;) but the *principal Sacraments* he saith, *are those which convey Grace*.

Rup. Tuic.  
de Viâ. Verbi.  
l. 12. c. 11.

Hugo de Sac.  
l. 1. part. 9.  
c. 6, 7.

*Fulbertus Carnotensis* lived in *France* in the beginning of the *tenth Century*; and where he Discourses of the *Sacraments* he names no more than *Baptism and the Eucharist*. He calls *the Body and Blood* two *Sacraments*, and so did *Rabanus Maurus* before him.

Fulb. Carnot.  
Epist. 1.

Who lived in the ninth Age, and was a Person of great Reputation; and he names no more *Sacraments* than *Baptism*, and *Chrism*, and the *Eucharist*; where he proposes to treat of them; and had as just an Occasion to have mention'd the rest, as *Hugo* had. But *Bellarmin* saith, *he handled all wherein the Clergy were concerned, and therefore omitted none but Matrimony*. But were not they concerned to know whether it were a *Sacrament* or not? The Question is not whether he mention'd the things, but whether he called them *Sacraments*; but I do not find *Extreme Unction* so much as mention'd by him in the place he refers us to.

De Inst. Cler.  
l. 1. c. 31.

Rab. Maur.  
de Inst. Cler.  
l. 1. c. 24.

Bell. de Sac.  
l. 2. c. 27.

In the same Age, *Walafridus Strabo*, where he purposely discourseth of the *Sacraments* names no more than *Rabanus Maurus*; and this had been an inexcusable

Walafr. Strab.  
de Reb. Eccl.  
c. 16, 17, 26.

Pasch. Radb.  
de corp. &  
sang. Dom.  
c. 3.

omission in such who treat of *Ecclesiastical Offices*; and were to inform Persons of their duties about them. And therefore I lay much more weight on such an omission in them than in any other Writers. I know *Paschasius Radbertus* mentions no more than *three Sacraments, Baptism, Chrism and the Eucharist*; but *Bellarmin* and *Sirmondus* say he mention'd them for *Example sake*, because it was not his business to handle the *Number of Sacraments*; but this Answer will by no means serve for those who purposely treated of these matters; and therefore an omission in them is an argument that they knew nothing of them.

Isid. Orig. l. 6.  
de Officiis.

And this Argument will go yet higher; for in the beginning of the *seventh Century*, *Isidore of Sevil* treated of these matters, and he names no more than *Baptism, Chrism and the Eucharist*; and he tells us, *they are therefore called Sacraments, because under the covering of corporeal things a secret and invisible virtue is convey'd to the partakers of them*. And this very passage is entered into the *Canon Law c. 1. q. 1 c. Multi Secularium, &c.* and there it passes under the Name of *Gregory I.* but the *Roman Correctors* restore it to *Isidore*.

Ivo Decret  
2. p. c. 73.

But it may be objected, that *Ivo Carnotensis* made a Collection of *Canons* before *Gratian*; who handles the *Sacraments* in his first and second Part; and he seems to make the *annual Chrism* to be a *Sacrament*; for which he quotes an Epistle of *Fabianus*, who saith it ought to be consecrated every year, *quia novum Sacramentum est*; and this, he saith, *he had by Tradition from the Apostles*. Which Testimony the modern Schoolmen rely upon for a sufficient proof of this *Apostolical Tradition*. But this Epistle is a notorious counterfeit, and rejected by all men of any tolerable Ingenuity in the Church of *Rome*. Thus we trace the *Original* of some pretended *Apostolical Tradition*.

Ylamb. ad. g.  
72. Diss. 1.  
d. 3.

*Traditions* into that Mass of *Forgeries*, the *Decretal Epistles*, which was sent abroad under the Name of *Isidore*.

*Ivo* produces another Testimony from *Innocentius I.* Ivo ib. c. 73;  
to prove that *Extreme Unction* was then owned for a kind of Sacrament, and therefore ought not to be given to *Penitents*. If this Rule holds, then either *Matrimony* was no Sacrament, or *Penitents* might not marry; but the *Canonists* say even excommunicated Persons may marry, but one of them saith, *it is a strange Sacrament excommunicated Persons are allow'd to partake of.* Alex. Consil.

But this *genus est Sacramenti* signifies very little to those who know how largely the Word *Sacrament* was used in elder times, from *Iertullian* downwards. But our Question is not about a kind of a Sacrament, but *strict and proper Sacraments*; and if it had been then thought so, he would not have permitted any to administer it; unless they will say it is as necessary to Salvation as *Baptism*, which none do. It appears from hence, that there was then a Custom among some in regard to *S. James* his Words, if Persons were sick, to take some of the *Chrism* to anoint them, and to pray over them in hopes of their Recovery; but this was no *Sacrament* of *dying Persons*, as it is now in the Church of *Rome*.

If it had been then so esteemed, *S. Ambrose* (or whoever was the Author of the Book of *Sacraments*) would not have omitted it, and the other supernumeraries, when he purposely treats of *Sacraments*; the same holds as to *S. Cyril of Jerusalem*. And it is a poor evasion to say, *that they spake only to Catechumens*; for they were to be instructed in the Means and Instruments of Salvation as they make all *Sacraments* to be.

And it is to as little purpose to say, *that they do not declare there are but two*; for our business is to enquire for a *Catholick Tradition for seven true and proper Sacraments*, as the *Council of Trent* determines under an *Anathema*. But if we compare the Traditions for two and for seven together, the other will be found to have far greater Advantage; not only because the two are mention'd in the eldest Writers, where the seven are not; but because so many of the Fathers agree in the Tradition, *that the Sacraments were designed by the Water and Blood which came out of our Saviour's side*. So *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Cyril of Alexandria*, *Leo Magnus*, but above all *S. Augustin* who several times insists upon this; which shews that they thought those two to be the *true and proper Sacraments* of Christianity; however there might be other *Mystical Rites* which in a large sense might be called *Sacraments*.

As to the *Occassions* of setting up this Number of *seven Sacraments*, they were these.

1. Some pretty *Congruities* which they had found out for them. The Number *seven* they observe was in request in the *Levitical Law*, as to *Sacrifices* and *Purifications*. *Naaman* was bid to wash seven times. And *Bel-larmin* in good earnest concludes *that the whole Scripture seemed to foretell the seven Sacraments by those things*. But besides, he tells us of *the seven things relating to natural Life which these have an Analogy with*; the seven sorts of sins these are a remedy against, and the seven sorts of *Vertues* which answer to the seven Sacraments. But none of all these prove any *Catholick Tradition*.

2. Making no difference between *Mystical Rites* continued in Imitation of *Apostolical Practices*, and *true and real*

*S. Chrys. in Joh. hom. 87.*

*S. Cyril. in Joh. l. 12.*

*Leo in Epist. ad Flavian.*

*S. Aug. in Joh. Tr. 9. 15.*

*in Pl. 40*

*De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 26.*

*De Symbol. c. 6.*

*Bell. de Sacr.*

*l. 2. c. 26.*



*real Sacraments.* Imposition of Hands for *Confirmation* and *Ordination* is allowed to be a very just and reasonable Imitation of them ; and as long as the *Miraculous Power of Healing Diseases* continued, there was a fair Ground for continuing the Practice mentioned by *S. James* ; but there was no Reason afterwards to change this into quite another thing, by making it a *Sacrament*, chiefly intended for doing away the Remainders of Sin.

3. Advancing the Honour of the Priesthood ; by making them so necessary for the actual Expiation of all sorts of Sins, and in all conditions. For no *Sacrament* is rightly administered by the Council of *Trent* without the *Priest* ; and therefore clandestine *Marriages* are declared void by it. And it pronounces an *Anathema* against those who say any others than *Priests* can administer *Extreme Unction* ; however it appears that in the time of *Innocentius* 1. any might make use of the *Chrism* when it was consecrated by a *Bishop* ; but they are grown wiser in the Church of *Rome* since that time ; and as they have altered a Ceremony of *Curing* into a *Sacrament of Dying*, so they have taken Care that none but *Priests* shall perform that last Office, that the People may believe they can neither live nor dye without them.

## VI. Of Auricular Confession.

The Council of *Trent* declares, that the *Universal Church* always understood that *Christ* did institute an entire Confession of Sins ; and that it is received by Divine Right to all who sin after Baptism, because our Lord *Jesus Christ* before his Ascension into Heaven, did leave *Priests* as his *Vicars*, to be *Presidents* and *Judges*, to whom all mortal sins were to be made known, and of which they were by  
the

Concil. Trid.  
Sess. 14. de  
Pœnit. c. 5.

*The Power of the Keys to give Sentence, so as either to remit or retain them.*

It.

It farther saith, *That the most holy and ancient Fathers by a great and unanimous Consent did use this secret Sacramental Confession from the beginning.*

And it denounces *Anathema's,*

Can. 1.

1. *Against him that denies the Sacrament of Penance to be of Christ's Institution.*

3.

2. *Against him that denies that our Saviour's words, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, Whose sins ye remit they are remitted, &c. are to be understood of the Power of remitting and retaining in the Sacrament of Penance, as the Catholick Church always understood them.*

4, 6, 7.

3. *Against him that denies Confession to be a Part of it, or to have Divine Institution, and to be necessary to Salvation; as it relates to all mortal though secret Sins.*

Thus we see the Sense of the Council of Trent in this matter; and I shall now make it evident there was no such *Catholick Tradition*, as is here pretended for it, by the Confession of their own Writers.

1. As to the General Sense of the Church.

2. As to the Founding it on *John 22. Those sins ye remit, &c.*

Maldonat de  
Sac. Pœnit.  
De Confess.  
c. 2.

1. As to the General Sense of the Church. *Maldonat reckons up Seven several Opinions among themselves about Confession. 1. Of those who denied it to be of Divine Right, but held it to be useful in the Church; and for this he quotes Rhénanus and Erasmus. 2. Of those who make it to be onely of Ecclesiastical Institution; and this, saith he, is the Opinion of all the Canonists. 3. Of those who thought it came in by Apostolical Tradition; of which he reckons Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, 4. Of some Divines*

Divines who held it to be instituted only by St. James.

5. Of others who held it to be of Divine Right, and not instituted by the Apostles, but insinuated by Christ; and for this he quotes Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure.

6. Of some who thought it instituted in the Old Testament.

7. Of those who held it instituted by Christ, but not as a Precept, but by way of Council; and for this he mentions Scotus and his Followers.

Vasquez reckons up among those whose Opinions are not condemned, The Canonists, Erasmus, Bonaventure, Alexander Hales, and Scotus, who all differed from the Council of Trent.

Vasquez in 3.  
Th. To. 4. Q.  
90. art. 1.  
n. 4.

Suarez mentions three Opinions among them. 1. Of those who said it was instituted in the Law of Nature. 2. Of those who attributed it to the Law of Moses. 3. Of those who denied any Institution of it by way of Precept from Christ in the Law of Grace; and for this he quotes Hugo de Sancto Victore, Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure, and they went upon this Ground, that no such Institution could be proved either by Scripture or Tradition.

Suarez in 3.p.  
Th. To. 4.  
Disp. 35. § 1.

Gregory de Valentia Confesses, some Catholick Authors denied the Divine Institution of Confession; for which he produces the Canonists, and Erasmus and Rhenanus. But he thinks they were not guilty of Heresie, because they were not obstinate; but that is not our business, which is to shew, that by their own confession there was not a constant Catholick Tradition in the Church about it.

Greg. de Va-  
lent. To. 4.  
Disp. 7. Q. 9.  
Pun. 2.

Natalis Alexander, who hath lately pretended to answer Dailé, confesses, that from the ninth to the thirteenth Age, many Catholicks did hold, that Confession to God alone was sufficient to obtain Remission of sins; and he proves it from Lombard, Gratian and the Canonists. But he saith it was no heresie in them, the point not being yet settled by a general Council.

Nat. Alex.  
de Sacr. Con-  
fess. p. 229.

Hist. Confes.  
Auric. c. 29.

Boileau in his Answer to Daille cannot deny that in the time of Lombard and Gratian men held several ways about this matter; but he answers with Thomas upon the Sentences; that it was an opinion then, but since the Council of Lateran it is become a Heresie. But if it were no heretical Opinion then, what becomes of *Infallible Tradition*? If the Church defines by *Tradition*, that *Tradition* must be proved before the *Definition*, otherwise it hath no ground to proceed upon.

Lom. sent.  
l. 4. dist. 17.

The Council of Lateran under Innocent III. (it seems) made it a *Heresie* to deny this *Sacramental Confession*. With in much less than a Century before it, lived Peter Lombard and Gratian. Peter Lombard made it his business to collect a Body of Divinity out of the Sentences of the Fathers; and his work hath been universally esteemed in the Roman Church. When he comes to state this point of *Confession* out of the Fathers, i. e. to give an account of the *Tradition* of the Church about it; he tells us in the beginning, that learned men were of different opinions; and for what reason? because the Doctors of the Church seemed to deliver not only divers but contrary things, i. e. they had no certain and constant *Tradition* about them. And when he comes to the point of *Confession* to God only, he quotes for it, besides Scripture, S. Ambrose, and S. Chrysostom, and Prosper, and against it S. Augustine and Leo, and concludes himself for the latter; but saith not a word more to shew that the constant *Tradition* of the Church had been for this opinion.

Grat. de Pe-  
nit. Dist. 1.

Gratian puts the same Question, and for *Confession* to God alone he quotes S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and Prosper, besides Scripture, and argues largely for it after c. *Conver- timini*, &c. Then he sets down the Arguments on the other side from c. 38. and after c. 60. he sums up the force of them, and again after c. 87. and when he hath said

said all on one side and on the other, he concludes after c. 89. that he left all to the Readers Judgment ; for both Opinions had wise and pious Defenders ; and produces that saying as out of Theodore's Penitential ; that some think that we ought to confess only to God, as the Greeks, others that we ought to do it to the Priest too, as almost all the Church besides ; but then he adds, that Confession to God purges away Sin, but that to the Priest shews how they are purged, i. e. by Contrition. So the Gloss interprets it. Bellarmin thinks that, ut Græci, was foisted into the Canon, and I shall not dispute against it, provided that which answers to it, ut tota ferè sancta Ecclesia, be allowed to be so too, as the Roman Correctors do confess. Bell. de penit. l. 3. c. 5.

Boileau hath taken another course, for he saith, this whole Distinction is without ground attributed to Gratian ; but how doth he prove it ? From Ant. Augustinus his Dialogue, where a MS. is cited that this was not Gratian's, but an elder Author's. And what is gotten by this ? But the other answers, it must be Gratian's, because of the citation out of the Digests, and other Books of Civil Law then lately found. If this will not do, he saith, Gratian hath many Errours, as the Roman Correctors observe. Yes truly do they ; and about this Point several times ; for the Councils of Lateran and Trent have otherwise determined. But what is all this to the Tradition of the Church in Gratian's time ? Hist. Confess. Auric. p. 388.

Innocent III. in the Council of Lateran, enjoyns strictly the Practice of Confession once a year, under the Penalty of Excommunication, and of being deprived of Christian Burial ; but there is not a Word of the Churches Tradition before, for the Ground of it. But finding several Opinions about it, and the Waldenses then opposing it, he resolves by his Authority to bind all Persons to it. But after this the Canonists allowed no more than Ecclesiasti-

cal Institution for it ; as is plain by the *Gloss* on the Canon Law, *Dist. 5. de Pœnit. Tit. In Pœnitentia* ; but the Roman Correctours quote against it *Council. Trident. Sess. 14. c. 5. i. e.* a Council some 100 years after, must tell what the Tradition then was ; but the *Gloss* saith, the Greeks had no such Tradition, and therefore were not bound to Confession. So that we have no evidence for any Catholick Tradition in this matter, before the *Lateran Council*.

2. But the Council of Trent hath gone beyond the Council of *Lateran*, and hath fixed the Divine Right of Confession on *John 20. Whose sins ye remit, &c.* and therefore I am now to shew, by the Confession of their own Writers, that this hath not been the Traditionary Sense of this Place.

*Cajetan*, not long before the Council first sat, in his Notes on this place confesses, that no Precept of Sacramental Confession is contained in it. But how should it be of Divine Right in the sense of the Council of Trent, if there be no Command for it ? Yes, by Consequence, if they will obtain Remission of Sins ; but this can by no means be inferred from hence, because the Remission of Sins by Baptism is implied in it ; but none of them plead for particular Confession before Baptism, in order to Remission ; and therefore not after, unless some Command of Christ made it more necessary after Baptism than before, *Vasquez* saith, that *Cajetan* means no more, than that it cannot be proved out of this place ; but *Catharinus* saith, that neither there nor in any other place doth *Cajetan* allow, that Auricular Confession can be proved out of Scripture.

*Gabriel Biel* confesses, he cannot find sufficient force to conclude the Necessity of Confession from the Power of Absolution here granted ; because it may be valid upon voluntary Confession of the Party ; and therefore he resolves it into an unwritten Tradition.

*Vasquez ubi  
supr.  
Catharin. in  
Cajet. p. 446.*

*Biel in 4. sent.  
Dist. 17. q. 1.  
a. 1.*



Guido Brianſon takes great pains to prove it out of this place, but at laſt yields, that Chriſt's inſtituting ſuch a Power, doth not bind Perſons to confeſs their Faults to them that have it. For the Power of retaining doth not imply that no ſins are retained which are not retained by the Prieſt upon Confession; neither then doth the Power of Abſolution imply that no ſins are remitted but ſuch as are confeſſed to a Prieſt. And therefore he betakes himſelf as Biel doth, to unwritten Tradition; and ſo doth Nicol.  
De Orbellis  
ad l. 4. Diſt.  
17.

Jac. de Almain debates the matter at large; and he ſays only that it is a probable Opinion, that this Confession is of divine Appointment; but he yields, that Chriſt's granting a Power of Abſolution, doth not make it a duty to confeſs to a Prieſt; and he ſaith, it is a falſe propoſition, that where a Power of judging is given, others are bound to ſubmit to it; for all that follows is, that their Sentence is valid if they do ſubmit.  
Almain in 4.  
Diſt. 17.

But the force of what the Council of Trent deduces from this place, lies wholly in this, as Vaſquez obſerves, that becauſe Chriſt hath given Authority to abſolve, and they cannot exerciſe that Authority without Confession, therefore Confession is hereby made neceſſary. And he confeſſes, that ſcarce any have deduced the Argument effectually from this place. But he ſaith one thing very obſervable, that if this place be extended to Remiſſion of Sins in Baptiſm, then it can never prove the neceſſity of Sacramental Confession. And Greg. de Valentia as plainly owns, that the Fathers did underſtand it of Baptiſm; he names S. Cyprian, and S. Ambroſe; but Natalis Alexander allows S. Cyril of Alexandria to have ſo underſtood it; and that Janſenius and Ferns followed him; but beſides theſe S. Auguſtin interprets this place as S. Cyprian had done. For as S. Cyprian from hence infers the Power of Baptizing  
Vaſquez ib.  
dub. 2.  
Greg. de Valent. de Neceſſ. Confess.  
c. 3.  
Nat. Alex. de Sac. Conſess. p. 22.  
Cyprian ad Jub. Ep. 73.

Aug. in Joh.  
Tr. 121.

S. Mark. 16.  
16.  
S. Luke 24.  
47.

Pet. Lomb.  
l. 4. Dist. 18.

Hieron. in  
Matth. c. 16.

and granting Remission of Sins in the Guides of the Church; so S. Augustin saith, the Churches Charity by the Holy Ghost looses the Sins of those who are her Members, and retains the sins of those who are not. And it may be observed, that whereas St. Matthew speaks of the Power of Baptizing granted to the Apostles; S. John instead of that mentions this Power of remitting or retaining Sins, and S. Mark and S. Luke speak of Baptism; to which the one joins Salvation; and the other Remission of Sins. And therefore this seems to be meant by our Saviour in the Words of S. John; and thus S. Peter exercised this Power of loosing on the converted Jews, Act. 2. 38. and his Power of binding on Simon Magus, Act. 8. 21.

Peter Lombard carries S. Augustin's meaning farther, to the Power of Priests over the Sins of the Members of the Church; but then he limits this Power, and makes it no more than declarative; as I have observed already; and for this he quotes a notable passage of S. Jerom, who saith, that Men are apt to assume too much to themselves under pretence of this Power of the Keys, whereas God regards not the Sentence of the Priests but the Life of the Penitents.

But Natalis Alexander thinks there is no binding Power with respect to Baptism; Was there not as to Simon Magus? And as long as every year the Church judged of the competency of Persons for it? When Christ spake these words the Church was wholly to be formed, and it was a great Power lodged with the Apostles and their Successors to admit into the Church, or to exclude from it, not as private Persons, but by Authority from Christ himself. But then this Power is vain and idle in a constituted Church. By no means; they have still a Power of casting out and taking in again; and of imposing such Acts on Offenders, as may give satisfaction to the Church, whose Honour

Honour suffers, and whose Discipline is broken. But the question is, Whether by Christ's appointment under the Gospel no known mortal sin can be pardon'd to *baptized Persons* without *Confession* of it to a Priest? And whether these words of our Saviour do imply it?

*Scotus* is by no means satisfied with mens Reasoning out of this place, *that because Christ hath given such a Power, therefore it is mens duty to confess their sins*; For, saith he, *this only implies the usefulness and efficacy of this Power if it be made use of*; as in Confirmation, none think themselves damned if they do not use it, though it be very useful; and therefore he goes another way to work, viz. by joyning this precept and that of loving God and our selves together with it. But how doth this prove that a man ought to take this particular way? Truly, *Scotus* here shews his Subtilty. Suppose there be another way that is harder, and this be found more easie, he thinks a man is bound to take the shortest and easiest way, viz. by Confession and Absolution.

But for all this his heart did misgive him, and he could not but see, that this proved nothing, unless this way of Confession were first proved to be a secure way. And therefore he puts the Case, *that if it be not proved by these Words, it may be by S. James. Confess your faults one to another.* No, saith he, *this will not do*; for which he gives this Reason, *that it holds no more for confession to a Priest than to any other*; therefore, after all, he is willing to resolve it into some unwritten Tradition, since there was no convincing evidence for it either in this or any other place of Scripture. Which shew'd they ran to Tradition, when they had nothing else to say.

*Bonaventure* denies that Christ himself appointed the Confession of sins; for which he gives this reason, *lest it should prove an occasion of sinning; ne ex verbis Domini dare-*

*tur aliquibus recidivandi occasio*; but afterwards he thinks *the Apostles appointed it, and S. James published it*; which Scotus utterly denies. But to the place of S. John, Bonaventure saith it was not enough to have it implied in the Priest's Power, because it being a harder duty than Absolution, it requir'd a more particular Command. Which was but reasonably said; especially when Bellarmin after others, urges, that it is one of the most grievous and burthensome Precepts; but his Inference from it is very mean, that therefore it must have a divine Command to enforce it on the People; but Bonaventure's Argument is much stronger, that it ought then to have been clearly expressed. But as to the People's yielding to it, other accounts are to be given of that afterwards.

Eccl. de Pen.  
l. 2. c. 12.

Alex. Sum. 3.  
p. q. 18. num.  
3. art. 2.

Alexander Hales observes, that if Christ had intended a command of Confession, John 20. it would have been expressed to those who are to confess, and not to those who are to absolve; as he did to those who were to be baptized, John 3. Except a man be born of water, &c. so Christ would have said, except a man confess his sins, &c. and he gave the same Reasons why Christ did not himself institute it, which Bonaventure doth, who used his very words.

And now who could have imagined that the Council of Trent would have attempted to have made men believe that it was the sense of the Universal Church that Christ instituted Confession in John 20? when so many great Divines even of the Church of Rome so expressly denied it; as I have made appear from themselves.

But now to give an account by what steps and degrees and on what occasions this Auricular Confession came into the Church, these things are to be considered.

I. In the first Ages, *publick, scandalous Offenders* after *Baptism*, were by the *Discipline* of the Church brought to *publick Penance*; which was called *Exomologesis*; which originally signifies *Confession*. And by this, *Bellarmin* Bell. de Pen. l. 3. c. 6. saith the *Ancients* understood either *Confession alone*, or joyned with the other parts of *Penance*; but *Albaspineus* Albasp. Obs. l. 2. c. 26. shews, that it was either taken for the whole course of *publick Penance*, or for the last and solemn act of it, when the *Bishop* led the *Penitents* from the entrance of the Church up to the *Body* of the *Congregation*, where they expressed their abhorrence of their faults in the most penitent manner, by their *Actions* as well as by *Words*. So that this was a real and publick *Declaration* of their sorrow for their sins, and not a *Verbal* or *Auricular Confession* of them. The same is owned by *La Cerdá*. But *Boileau* pretends that it had not this sense till after the *Novatian Heresie* and the *Death* of *Irenæus*; and that before that time it signified *Confession* according to the sense of the *Word* in *Scripture*. This seems very strange, when *Baronius* himself confesses, that *Tertullian* uses it for that part of *Penance* which is called *Satisfaction*; and *Bellarmin* grants it is so used both by *Tertullian* and *Irenæus*; when he saith the *Woman* seduced by *Marcus*, afterwards spent her days in *Exmologesi*. What! in continual *Confession* of her sin? No, but in *Penitential Acts* for it; and so *Petavius* understands it, both in *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*; and he saith, it did not consist onely or principally in *Words* but in *Actions*, i. e. it was nothing of kin to *Auricular Confession*, which is a part of *Penance* distinct from *satisfaction*. And to make these the same, were to confound the different parts of the *Sacrament* of *Penance*, as the *Council of Trent* doth distinguish them.

*La Cerdá.*  
*Advers. Sacr.*  
*c. 142. p. 2.*  
*Hist. Confess.*  
*Auric. c. 4.*  
*p. 72.*

*Baron. ad*  
*A. D. 56.*

*Iren. l. 1. c. 9.*

*Petav. Not.*  
*ad Epiphani.*  
*p. 71.*  
*De la Penit.*  
*publique, l. 2.*  
*cb. 13. n. 9.*

But

But besides this, there were several other *Circumstances*, which do make an apparent difference between these *Penitential Acts* and the modern notion of *Confession*.

Rigalt. *mt. in.*  
Tert. *de Pen.*

1. The *Reason* of them was different. For, as *Rigaltius* observes, *the penitential Rigour was taken up after great Numbers were admitted into the Church*; and a great dishonour was brought upon Christianity by the looseness or inconstancy of those who professed it. There were such in *S. Paul's* time in the Churches of *Corinth*, and elsewhere; but although he gives Rules about such, yet he mentions no other than *avoiding* or *excommunicating the guilty Persons*, and upon due Sorrow and Repentance receiving them in again; but he imposes no necessity of *Publick* or *Private Confession* in order to *Remission*; much less of every kind of mortal sin, though it be but the breach of the tenth Commandment, as the *Council of Trent* doth; yet this had been necessary in case he had thought, as that declares, *that God will not forgive upon other terms*. And so much the rather, because the *Evangelists* had said nothing of it; and now Churches began to fill, it was absolutely necessary for him to have declared it, if it were a necessary condition of Pardon for sins after Baptism. But although the *Apostles* had given no Rules about it, yet the *Christian Churches* suffering so extremely by the Reproaches cast upon them, they resolved, as far as it was possible, to take care to prevent any *scandalous Offences* among them. To this end, the actions of all Persons who professed themselves Christians were narrowly watched; and their faults, especially such as were *scandalous*, complained of; and then if they confessed them, or they were convicted of them, a severe and rigorous Discipline was to be undergone by them before they were restored to Communion; that



that their Enemies might see how far the Christians were from encouraging such enormities as they were accused of. They were charged with *Thyestean Suppers* and *promiscuous mixtures*; whereas, any Persons among them who were guilty of *Homicide* or *Adultery* were discharged their Society, and for a great while not admitted upon any terms; and afterwards, upon very rigorous and severe terms. And besides these, to preserve the purity of their Religion in times of Persecution, they allowed no *Compliance* with the *Gentile Idolatry*; and any tendency to this, was looked upon as a degree of Apostasy, and censured accordingly. And about these three sorts of sins the severity of the Primitive Discipline was chiefly exercised; which shews, that it proceeded upon quite different grounds from those of the Council of Trent about Auricular Confession.

2. The method of proceeding was very different; for here was no *toties quoties* allow'd; that men may sin, and confess, and be absolved; and then sin the same sin again, and confess again, and receive Absolution in the same manner. The Primitive Church knew nothing of this way of dealing with Sinners upon Confession. If they were admitted *once* to it that was all. So *Pamelius* himself grants, and produces several Testimonies of *Fathers* for it; and so doth *Albaspineus* and *Petavius*. Dare any say this is the sense of the Church of Rome about Confession, that a man cannot be received a second time to Confess and be absolved from the same sin? How then can they pretend any *similitude* between their Confession and the ancient *Exomologesis*? Besides, none ever received Absolution from the ancient Church till full satisfaction performed. But in the Church of Rome, Absolution is given before Satisfaction; and although some

S

have

Pamel. not. 1.  
in Tert. de.  
Panit.  
Albasp. Obs.  
l. 2. c. 5.  
Petav. ad E-  
piph. p. 236.  
Append. ad  
Epiph. c. 3.  
p. 91.

have complained of this, as a great abuse; yet they have been sharply answer'd, that it is to call in question the Conduct of the Church for five hundred years; and they may as well question many other things, which depend upon the Authority of the Present Church.

3. The Obligation to Confession is very different from what it was in the ancient *Exomologesis*. Now by the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, a person looks on himself as bound in Conscience to confess every Mortal sin; but in the Ancient Church none can imagine that persons were bound to undergo the *Exomologesis* for every mortal sin, there being no Penitential Canons which did ever require it; but they had respect to some particular sins, and the Penance was proportion'd to them.

We ought to take notice of two things with respect to the Discipline of the Ancient Church, which will shew the different notion it had of these things from what is now current in the Church of Rome.

1. That it did not exclude those from all hopes of Salvation whom it excluded from Penance; as may be seen in the *Illiberitan Council*, where many are wholly shut out from the Church, whom we cannot think they thought incapable of Salvation. From whence it follows, that they did not look on Confession and Absolution as a necessary condition of Salvation; but now in the Church of Rome they allow Confession to all, because they think they cannot otherwise be in a state of Salvation in an ordinary way. But in the Ancient Church they could not look on the desire of Confession as necessary, for to what purpose should they make that necessary when they denyed the thing? But in the Church of Rome, they make the desire necessary, because they hold the thing it self to be so, if there be means to have it.

2. That

2. That the *Penitential Canons* never extended in the *Primitive Church* to all those sins which the *Church of Rome* now accounts *Mortal*, and therefore necessary to be confessed. The Council of *Trent* saith expressly, they must confess *omnia & singula peccata mortalia—etiam De Penit. occulta*—and an *Anathema* is denounced against him *can. 7.* that denies it to be necessary to Remission of them. Now if we consider their notion of *mortal sin*, we shall easily discern the vast difference between the Obligation to Confession by the Council of *Trent*, and by the old *Penitential Canons*. For *mortal sins* are not only all Voluntary Acts committed against the known Laws of God, but against the Laws of the Church; and even venial sins may become mortal by the Disposition of the Person, and by other circumstances, which the Casuists set down at large; now the Council of *Trent* doth expressly oblige men, not only to relate the Acts themselves, but all Circumstances which change the kind of Sin. And this is a racking the Consciences of Men far beyond whatever we find in the old *Penitential Canons*; for, *Petavius* confesses that many sins now accounted mortal, *Petav. not. ad Epiph. p. 238.* had no Penance appointed for them by the old Canons; and therefore I need not take any pains to prove it: If any one hath a mind to be satisfied, he may see it in *Gregory Nyssen's Canonical Epistle*, where he owns that several of those sins, for which the *Scripture* excludes from the Kingdom of Heaven, have no *Canonical Penance* prescribed them by the ancient Canons of the Church. Which shews a mighty difference from the Rule of the Council of *Trent*. *Greg. Nyss. Epist. ad Lect. c. 4, 5.*

The most plausible place in Antiquity brought for all mortal sin, is that of *S. Cyprian*, where he saith, that some *Cyp. de lapsis, n. 23.* confessed their very thoughts, though they had not proceed-

Cypr. Ep. 10.

ed to actual sin. It is true, that he doth speak of some such; but was it for *sins* of *thought* against the *tenth Command*? No; but it is very plain, that he speaks of that sin which was thought to imply a renouncing Christianity, and S. Cyprian elsewhere calls *summum delictum*, and the *Sin ag inst the Holy Ghost*; viz. consenting to any *Act* of *gentile Idolatry*; and yet Saint Cyprian had much ado to perswade those who were actually guilty to submit to due Penance for it; but they obtained *Tickets* from the *Confessors*, and were admitted to communion without undergoing the Discipline of the Church, the consequence whereof would be, that the Discipline would be lost, and the Church over-run with Apostates; this makes S. Cyprian plead hard against such practices, and among other arguments he u'ses this of the great tenderness of some, who because they had entertained such thoughts of *doing* as others did, for their own safety, they offered to unburthen their Consciences before them, and desired remedy for small Wounds; how much more ought they to confess their faults whose wounds are greater? This is the whole force of his reasoning; where the Thought and Act relate to the same sin; and that said to be no less than *denying Christ, and sinning against the Holy Ghost*. But there is no parity in the case of other sins; which even S. Cyprian calls *minora delicta*, being against men immediately; and there is no intimation in him that ever the thoughts of those sins were discovered, or that Persons were under any obligation by the Rules of the Church to do it.

Cypr. Ep. 12.

2. *Private Offenders* were sometimes advised in those first Ages for the ease of their *Consciences* to make *Confession*

*session* of their sins; of which we see an instance as to the Practice in one Case in S. Cyprian's time. And *Tertullian* compares such Persons who avoid it, to those who have such secret Ulcers that they chuse rather to perish than to discover them. Now in Cases of this nature he advises to *Confession* and publick penitential Acts, that so they may in the Judgment of the Church have the secret Wounds of their Consciences healed. And this is that which *Origen* doth advise to in such Cases, to seek out a wise Spiritual Physician, and to make known his inward distemper to him, and to follow his advice and direction, as to the Method of Cure. Now this we never oppose; but the only Question is, whether it be necessary for all Persons, and for every Mortal Sin, to make Confession of it to the Priest, that it may be forgiven; and *Origen* never once supposes this; for he mentions several other ways for the Remission of Sins after Baptism, by Martyrdom, by Alms, by forgiving and converting others, by great Love to God, and in the last place he brings in this of a Laborious Penance and Confession. Either the former ways are sufficient without this, or not; if they are, then this is not necessary to the Remission of all mortal Sins; if not, to what purpose doth he mention so many ways, when this one is sufficient without them, and all those are insufficient without this? For *Boileau* confesses, that no mortal sins according to them can be remitted, where there is not at least the desire of this. But *Origen* shews the different ways of obtaining Remission, or else he doth not answer the difficulty; which was, that the Jews had several sorts of Sacrifices for the Expiation of Sins, to which we have none answerable under the Gospel, Yes, saith *Origen*, Baptism answers to one sort, Martyrdom to another, Alms to a third, &c. and last of all, Penance

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 2.  
 in Psal. 37.  
 Hom. 2.  
 in Luc. Hom. 17.

Hist. Confess.  
 Auric. c. 5.  
 n. 8.

to the Offering baked in the Frying Pan. From whence it is plain, that he looked on this as one particular way proper to some Cases, and not as a general Method for the Remission of all mortal Sins. But he urges that *Origen* quotes Scripture for the Confession of Sins, as necessary, *Hom. 2. in Psal. 37.* But what Scripture? Even the Words of the *Psalmist*, *I will confess my Iniquity.* And was Confession to a Priest necessary under the Law? How then can those words prove it necessary under the Gospel? Although therefore *Origen* might think it very convenient in some cases for *Penitents* to unload their Consciences by Confession to a *Spiritual Physician*, yet we find no proof of any necessity of it, as to all mortal Sins. It is confessed, that publick Faults, either confessed or proved, had publick Penance appointed for them by the *Penitential Canons*; but *Boileau*, after *Arnauld*, pleads, that even secret Sins being mortal, were not thought remissible by the Keys of the Church, without publick Penance. But this can never be proved to have been the Doctrine of the *Ancient Church*, and it is unreasonable to suppose; for then, all Persons must have undergone publick Penance who had any mortal Sin, and it must have been frequently born by the same Persons, both which are inconsistent with the *Ancient Discipline*. But they saw there was no other way to maintain the Necessity of Confession, but by this. For they could find none but publick Penance, and that by the *Penitential Canons* was prescribed only for some particular scandalous Sins; and therefore they sanctioned, that Persons who committed other faults, were bound to confess them privately, and to undergo publick Penance for them. I do not deny, but some great *Penitents*, for secret Faults, would of their own accord submit to the publick Discipline; but this was a voluntary Act in them, that



that by this means they might assure themselves the more of the sincerity of their own Repentance ; and it being looked on as an Act of *Humility* and *Piety*, it made it go down the better with *Voluntary Penitents*.

3. For the sake of such *Voluntary Penitents* in great Churches, whose Cases required particular and private Examination and Direction, there was a *Penitentiary* appointed, whose Office it was to receive their *Confessions*, and to direct and order the Method of their *Penance*. Of this we have a famous Instance in the Church of *Constantinople*, in the time of *Nectarius*, about which so much pains hath been taken for different purposes. That which seems most probable to me, is, that the *Penitentiary* was appointed to examine and judge of such *Penitential Causes* which were brought before him, (not being notorious,) and to give sentence according to the *Canons*; but especially of *Voluntary Confessions* of Persons, whose Consciences were oppressed with the Guilt of Secret Sins ; and to those he was to appoint *Penance* without revealing their Faults. Where the Facts were *notorious* and *scandalous*, I suppose the ancient *Discipline* of the Church (part whereof is to be seen in the *Canonical Epistles*) to have still continued at *Constantinople*, as well as in other Churches. But there were many private miscarriages, wherein great Prudence and Judgment was required, both to determine the *Penance*, and to manage it so, that it did not break out into an open Scandal. And for Cases of this Nature the *Penitentiary* was appointed ; to whom all Persons might resort in private cases, and open their Consciences to him, and take his Directions how to perform their *Penitential Acts*. So it was with that Person of Quality at *Constantinople*, who gave occasion to the above-

*Pandect. Canon. Vol. 2.*

abolishing the Office of *Penitentiary*, both there, and] in all the *Eastern Churches*. She first went to the *Penitentiary*, as a *voluntary Penitent*, and confessed her Faults to him, and took his directions; and while she was performing her Penance in the Church, the Fact was committed with the Deacon, which she afterwards confessed to the *Penitentiary*. Who being enraged at the Deacon, in probability through his desire to have him punished, the Fact came to be discovered, and the People to be highly offended: And it is not reasonable to suppose that the *Penitentiary* put her upon a *publick Confession* of her secret fault; but that it came out by his means; and therefore *Nectarius* thought fit no longer to put such a Trust into any Man's hand, which through his discovery might redound to the Dishonour of the Church, as that did.

What the effect was of abolishing this Office, is the great Question, whether the taking away *publick* or *private Confession*. If the Historians may be believed, it was the *Necessity of making any Confession at all in secret*; for the Right of receiving such Confessions, was devolved upon the *Penitentiary*; therefore when his Office was put down, where the Case was not notorious, every one *must be left to his own Conscience*; and that both *Socrates* and *Sozomen* affirm was the consequence of it. If only *publick Confession* was taken away, as some imagine, a *secret Confession* was still continued, how was it possible for the *Historians* to mistake the matter so grossly, by making that the consequence of it? For, *is every Man left to his own Conscience*, where he is bound to go to *Confession* before he partakes of the *Eucharist*? And why should *publick Penance* be taken away on this occasion, where there seems to have been none; for that Person under-

went

Socr. l. 5.  
c. 19.  
Soz. l. 7.  
c. 16.

went to *publick Penance* upon her former *Confession*; for then her *Penance* would not have been *done in the Church*, but out of it, among the *Penitents*. But as the former was voluntary, so was the latter too; for here was no Accuser but her self; and for what Reason should publick and solemn Penance for notorious Crimes, be taken away for the sake of the discovery of a *Secret Confession*. Whether the punishment of the Deacon were the Occasion of its coming out, or whatever it was, it seems evident to me, that she was not obliged to any publick Confession; because *Sozomen* saith, the *Penitentiary* was chosen for his Gravity, Silence and Wisdom; but what Silence was there, if the *Confessions* were to be made *publick*. And on the other side, it is impossible to conceive, that if all Persons were then obliged to confess all mortal Sins after *Baptism*, that one *Penitentiary* should be sufficient in so vast a City as that of *Constantinople* was. Therefore I think it most probable, that the case of *notorious and scandalous Offenders* stood as it did, and so continued in *S. Chrysostom's* time; but this Office of *Penitentiary* relating to *voluntary and secret Offenders* was taken away; because a greater *Scandal* came to the Church by the discovery, when such a publick *Disgrace* made the fact become notorious. And so this *Act of Nestarius* in taking away the *Penitentiary's Office*, and the *Approbation* of it by other Churches following the Example, evidently proves, that they did not look on *Confession* of *secret Sins*, as necessary to the *Remission* of them.

4. As the taking away the *Penitentiary's Office* shewed the Sense of the Church at that time against the *Necessity of Confession* in order to Pardon, so it did likewise in order to the partaking of the Eucharist. For *Socrates*

T

saith,

Socr. l. 5.  
c. 19.

Soz. l. 7.  
c. 16.

Concil. Trid.  
Sess. 13. c. 7.  
Can. 11.

saith, that Eudemon gave that Counsel to Nestarius, that he should remove the Penitentiary, and give every one leave to pass Judgment on himself in his own Conscience, and so to partake of the Myſteries. The same is affirmed by Sozomen. Which respects not the publick Discipline about Notorious Offenders, but the private Applications made by scrupulous Persons and secret Offenders to the Penitentiary in order to a right preparation for the Eucharist. And it is very probable, that it was then believed by many, that they could not be duly fitted for that Sacrament, unless they had first unburthened their Consciences by a voluntary Confession to the Penitentiary, and followed his Directions. But this Office being taken away, the Question now is, whether it were thought necessary to confess privately to any other? The Council of Trent declares, that Sacramental Confession is necessary to a worthy partaking of the Eucharist, to every one that is conscious to himself of any mortal sin; and whoſoever holds the contrary is declared excommunicate ipſo facto. But these Historians plainly deny it, and they are justified by S. Chryſostom, who speaks to the very Case; not about Catechumens, but such as would fit themselves for the Holy Eucharist. And he several times declares, that a man needs not reveal his sins to any but to God alone, in order to it. Nothing can be more Emphatical than what he saith to that purpose.

For this Cause S. Paul saith, *Let a man examin himself, and so let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup; he doth not lay open the secret Ulcer; he doth not bring the Accusation into a Theatre; he appoints no Witnesses of thy Transgressions; pass judgment within thine own Conscience, there examin thy faults, and call thy self*

[illegible]

to an account for the sins of thy Life, where none but God is present, who sees all things; amend thy faults, and so with a pure Conscience draw near to the holy Table, and partake of the Sacrifice there offered.

σαρν. ἡ πάλαι. ἡ. Βίον ἀναλογί-  
αυ. ὑπὸ τῷ πῶ το κριτικῶν ἀνα-  
τα ἀμαρτήματα, διότι τὰ πλημ-  
μελήματα, ἡ ἡτο μὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ  
συνεδοῦ. ἡ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πῶ-  
λα. ἡ ἀπὸς μετὰ τοῦ θύσιος.  
S. Chrys. To 6. p. 837. Hom. 8. de  
Penit. Hom. 28. in 1 ad Corinth.

But lest this should be thought one of those sudden elo-  
quent heats which *Petavius* saith, are hardly capable of

*Petav. Not.  
ad Epiphani.  
p. 244.*

good sense, if too strictly examined; we find him very

cooly delivering the same Doctrine in his Exposition of  
those words of *S. Paul*. Than which nothing can be more  
inconsistent with the Doctrine and Practice of the Church

*Cathar. c. Ca-  
jetan. p. 453.*

of *Rome*, which makes Confession of our Sins to a Priest  
a necessary Preparation for the Eucharist. *Catharinus* saith,

that if the Church had not limited the time yet every Per-  
son would be bound to confess to a Priest, as often as he com-  
municated. And although he know no mortal sin by himself,

451.

yet he would deserve the severest Censure for not confessing,  
because he took upon himself to be his own Judge: Can any

*Hist. Confess.  
Auric. p. 201.*

thing be more contrary to *S. Chrysostom* than this? *Bai-  
lean* confesses, that *S. Chrysostom* doth not here refer at

all to Confession to a Priest; then it follows, that he thought  
it not necessary to right participation of the Holy Eucha-

rist. Here he speaks not of daily Examination of Con-  
science by the faithful; but of the solemn Judgment of Con-  
science by way of due Preparation; and so justifies the  
Fact of *Nestarius* in taking away the Penitentiaries Of-  
fice. But we are not to suppose so great and so zealous  
a Man would have done it against his Conscience; as he  
must, if he still thought Confession to a Priest necessary;  
and he doth not say, they need not go now to the Peniten-  
tiary, but that they need not disclose their sins to any.  
Not to a multitude, or in a theatrical manner, as some ex-  
pound

pound it; but to none but God, which excludes the knowledge of a single Priest, as well as of a great number. I need not insist on the other places in *S. Chrysostom* to that purpose, since these are sufficient for my design.

*Cassian. Collat. 20. c. 8.*

*Hist. Confess. Auric. c. 18. p. 286.*

*Cassian* was a Disciple of *S. Chrysostom*, and he supposes Confession to God alone to be sufficient for Remission of Sin, where mere modesty binders men from confessing to men. *Boileau* answers, that he doth not speak of Sacramental Confession made to Priests; but of an Ascetick Confession among the Monks. But he speaks of a Confession to God as sufficient for Remission of Sins, and therefore must exclude the Necessity of any other.

5. After the taking away the Penitentiary's Office, the Publick Discipline of the Church, as to open and scandalous Offenders continued for some time in the Eastern as well as the Western Churches. No one speaks more fully to this than *S. Chrysostom*; which makes me wonder at those who say the publick Penance was taken away by *Nectarius*, for in his 82. Homily on *S. Matthew*, towards the Conclusion he insists very much upon it; and not only charges the People not to come with their sins upon them; but he speaks to those who ministered, to deny the Eucharist to open Offenders. And he saith, it would be charged as a great Fault upon them, if they knew such and permitted them to communicate. But how shall we know them? I speak not, saith he, of those who are not, but of those who are known; and if any such did thrust themselves in, he bid them not be afraid to deny them; and if they durst not, he tells them, they should bring them to him, and he would rather lose his life than give that Sacrament to such unworthy receivers. But still he saith he speaks of open and notorious Offenders. Which shews



shews plainly, that even *S. Chrysostom* never thought the *publick Discipline* was changed; since he declares so much Resolution to maintain it. And this could not be spoken by him while he was a *Presbyter* at *Antioch*, but after he came to the See of *Constantinople*. There was no doubt some alteration as to the *Penitents*, after the taking away the *Penitentiary*; but it was no more than his Office was concerned in. The old *Penitential Canons* remained still in force and were executed, as *Occasion* served; as appears by the *Canons* in *Trullo* so long after *S. Chrysostom's* time which refer to them. If all the *publick Discipline* had been laid aside so long before, to what purpose do those *Bishops* speak of them, as if they were still in force? See *Canon* 44, 46, 53, 54, 87. In the last *Canon* indeed they leave it to those who had the *Power of binding and loosing* to temper the severity of the *Canons* as they should judge convenient; but doth it hence follow, that the ancient Discipline as to *publick Offenders* was destroy'd? *S. Chrysostom* himself several times mentions those who were in the state of *Penitents* and the Prayer that was made for them; to what purpose, in case the whole Order of *Penitents* was taken away? He likewise speaks of the charge for the *Penitents* to go out. What a mockery, were this, if there were no *Publick Discipline* then left? And lest it should be said, that these things were said by him at *Antioch*, before the fact of *Nectarius*, I have shew'd already that the latter Homilies on *S. Matthew* were made by him at *Constantinople*; and in his *Liturgy* there used the dismissal of the *Penitents* was continued.

*S. Chrys. in  
Matth. Hom.  
71.  
In 2 Ep. ad.  
Cor. Hom. 18.  
Hom. 3 in Ep.  
ad Ephes.*

6. While the *publick Discipline* was kept in the several Churches none were enjoined to undergo it, but open and *publick Offenders*. The Evidence being so clear in

in *Antiquity* for the *publick Penance* of those who were bound to give the Church *satisfaction* before they receiv'd *Absolution* from it; there was a necessity found by some learned Men of the *Roman Communion* to set up a new *Hypothesis*, viz. that by the *Ancient Rules* of the Church all Persons conscious to themselves of secret sins were bound to undergo *publick Penance* for the *Remission* of their sins. The occasion of the debate was this. Some in the Church of *Rome* held no more necessary in case of mortal Sin to prepare men for *Communion* than *Confession* to a Priest and *Absolution*; others saw the fatal Consequence of this, and therefore insisted on the *Necessity* of *Penance*; both Parties made their Appeal to the *Ancient Church*; and both were mistaken. For, on the one side, there was no such Doctrine then held that *Confession* and *Absolution* did sufficiently prepare Persons for the *Eucharist*; and on the other, there was no good Evidence that any were enjoyned *publick Penance* for secret faults. But in the Case of such sins, the *Confession* was left to God in Secret; and a true and hearty *Contrition* for them was thought the best, as well as most necessary Preparation for the *Eucharist*.

Petav. de la  
Penitence  
publique, l. 5.  
ch. 10. p. 64.

Arn. de freq.  
Communione,  
Part. 2. c. 3.  
p. 205.

Petav. l. 2,  
c. 5. n. 3.

Monfr. *Arnauld* saw well enough that without his *Hypothesis*, it was impossible to prove the *Necessity* of *Confession* in the *Ancient Church*; for he yields that the Church did not use the *Power* of the *Keys* but in *Publick*. On the the other hand, *Petavius* urges, that on the same Ground that they would reduce, as they pretended, the *Ancient Discipline* they must make many other alterations in the Church, and so justify the *Reformers*. But Monfr. *Arnauld* was defective in his Proofs, as *Petavius* at large shews; not when he proves that the *Penance* was *publick*; but that all Persons under mortal sins were bound to undergo it. For *Petavius* makes it appear, that

that all such as are accounted mortal sins in the modern sense, were not then thought necessary to be expiated by publick Penance; but only such as were notorious and scandalous, and he at large answers all Monsr. Ar.  
*Arnould's Arguments.* Notwithstanding which *Morinus* took up Monsr. *Arnould's* Opinion, and without any colour charges it on *Theodore* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he first in his Penitential appointed publick Penance to be onely for publick Offences. But the learned Editor of the Abstract of *Theodore's* Penitential, hath fully vindicated him in this matter.

l. 6. c. 2, &amp;c.

Morin. Com.

de Penit.

l. 10. c. 17.

Theod. Vind.

p. 61, &amp;c.

But after these, *Boileau* resumes the Opinion of Monsr. *Arnould*, and lays it for the Foundation of his History of Auricular Confession. But he grants, that all the solem and ceremonial Penance imposed by the Penitential Canons did not extend to all kind of mortal sins, but chiefly to Idolatry, Adultery and Homicide; but this he insists upon, that some part of this publick Penance, viz. Exclusion from the Communion was inflicted on Persons guilty of secret mortal sins. But this will by no means do his business; for he is to prove that no secret mortal sin could be forgiven without Confession to a Priest; and that all persons were required by the ancient Church in case they were conscious to themselves of any such sins, to make them known, and to undergo publick Penance for them, before they could obtain Remission of them. We do not deny that Persons under Trouble of Conscience for secret sins, were from time to time advised to resort to their Guides, to make known their Cases to them, and to take their Directions; we do not deny that such Persons might be required by such Guides to withdraw themselves from joyning in the most solemn Acts of publick Communion till they had manifested the sincerity of their

Hist. Confess.

Auric. c. 2.

their Repentance, by *Fasting*, and *Prayers*, and other *penitential Acts*; we do not deny, that some of these Persons might either by Advice or of their own Accord joyn themselves with the *publick Penitents*, as is well known in the Case of *Fabiola* at *Rome* so much magnified by *S. Jerom*; but this is the thing we desire to see proved, that no sin whatsoever of a *mortal nature* (as it is defined in the Church of *Rome*) was then thought capable of *Remission* by the *penitential Acts* of the Party, (especially by true *Contrition*) without *Confession* to a *Priest* and *Absolution* from him. And this is the true state of the Case; and I can find nothing produced by him to this purpose which deserves to be considered.

7. As the *publick Discipline* declined, Persons were exhorted to make *private Confession* of their sins; if they could not be brought to *publick Penance*. Thence in the *Greek Church* came the *Penitentials* of *Johannes Jejunator* (who first took upon himself the Title of *Oecumenical Patriarch* in the time of *Mauritius* to the great Offence of the Bishops of *Rome*) and of some others after him.

Joh. Morin.  
Com. de Pœn.  
l. 6. c. 22, 23.

*Morinus* grants that there was a great alteration in the *Greek Church* about this matter; he thinks it began with the business of the *Penitentiary*, but after the *publick Discipline* was disused, instead of that, he saith, came c. 23. n. 1, 2. up a *secret Confession and Penance*; which was left to the honesty, and piety of the Penitent, and not required by any Canonical Authority among them; and so he saith it continued from the time of *Nestarius* to this day, as to the People. So that we have a plain *Confession* from him, that there is no Rule in the *Greek Church* requiring this *secret Confession* of Sins in order to the forgiveness

ness of them. But it is observable concerning the modern Greeks, that if Persons do make *Confession* among them, they think themselves obliged to keep to the old *Penitential Canons*, and blame *Joh. Jejunator* for receding from them; for *Simeon of Thessalonica* saith, *they had them from the Fathers, and the Fathers by Tradition down from the Apostles*. But although they are therein mistaken, yet they shew how different their *Tradition* is from that of the *Roman Church*, which thinks it self under no such obligation, but allows *Absolution* to be granted upon *Confession*, and a right of *Communion* without *Penance* performed, for which there is no colour, as to any ancient *Tradition* either of the *Eastern* or *Western Church*.

In the *Western Church* we find the publick *Discipline* fallen to decay in the beginning of the ninth Age, and *Charles the Great* summoning several *Councils* for putting things into as good an Order as they would then bear. In the second *Council* of *Cavaillon*, A. D. 813. we find a Complaint, *Can. 25. that the old Canonical Penance was generally disused; and neither the ancient Order of Excommunicating or Absolving was observed*. Which is a plain and ingenuous acknowledgment that they had gone off from the ancient *Tradition* of the Church; and therefore they pray the Emperor's Assistance, *that the publick Discipline might be restored for publick Offenders, and the ancient Canons be brought into use again*. From whence it follows, that at that time notorious Offenders escaped with private *Confession* and *Penance*; and even that was done by halves, *can. 32.* and some thought it not necessary to do it at all, *can. 33.* And upon this Occasion, they do not declare it necessary for the *Remission of Sins* to confess even the most se-

cret mortal Sins to a Priest; but very fairly say, *that both are useful; for Confession to God purgeth the Sin; and to the Priest, teaches men how their sins may be purged. For God who is the Author and giver of Health, giveth it often by the Invisibl: Operation of his Power, and often by the means of Physicians.*

*Hist. Confess.  
Auric. c. 25.  
n. 3.*

*c. 29. p. 387.*

Boileau yields, *that there were some then in the Roman Church, who denied Confession to Men to be necessary, but he saith, they were Adversaries and Rebels.* This had been a good Answer, if the Council had called them so; which it doth not, but on the contrary declares, *that God doth often forgive sin immediately without the Priests Interposition, or else the latter Clause signifies nothing.* And the most it saith before, is, *that Confession to a Priest is useful in the Church;* which is not the the thing disputed by us, but the Necessity of it; and his Critical Observations of *Utrumque* signify just nothing, unless he had proved that the Council had before said that both were necessary, which it doth not. He doth not deny, *that the Opinion of the Sufficiency of Confession to God alone did continue in the Church to the time of the Council of Lateran, and that it gave Occasion to the Canon, which enforced the Necessity of Confession to a Priest;* but he adds, *that learned and pious Men may have false Opinions before the Judgment of the Church.* So that at last we find *Universal Tradition* is given up, and the Necessity of *Auricular Confession* is resolved into the Authority of the *Roman Churches Definition*, or rather, the *Pope's Declaration* of it, either with or without the Consent of the *Lateran Council.* But he saith, *The Fathers did not speak so exactly of the Trinity before the Council of Nice; nor the Greek Fathers of Grace and Predestination before S. Augustin.* If this be true, it is impossible to prove either of those great Points merely by Tradition;



dition; for those Fathers either delivered the sense of the Church, or they did not; if they delivered the sense of the Church, then either the sense of the Church was doubtful, or they did not understand it; if the sense of the Church were doubtful, then it is plain those Doctrines could not be proved by Tradition; if the sense of the Church were not doubtful, but the Fathers did not understand it, then how is it possible that the *Churches Tradition* should be an *Infallible Guide*, when even the *Fathers* of the Church were mistaken about it? But I have sufficiently proved, that not only before, but even after the Council of *Lateran* there was no *Universal Tradition* for the *Necessity of Auricular Confession*.

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FINIS.

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*A CATALOGUE of some BOOKS Printed for  
Henry Mortlock, at the Phoenix in S. Paul's Church-Yard.*

A Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion, being a Vindication of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference, &c. from the pretended Answer by T. C. Wherein the True Grounds of Faith are cleared, and the False discovered; the Church of England vindicated from the Imputation of Scism; and the most important particular Controversie between us and those of the Church of Rome thoroughly examined: By Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. and Dean of S. Paul's, Folio. the Second Edition.

Origines Britannicae: Or the Antiquity of the British Churches; with a Preface concerning some pretended Antiquities relating to Britain, in Vindication of the Bishop of S. Asaph. by Edward Stillingfleet D. D. Dean of S. Paul's, Folio.

The Rule of Faith: Or an Answer to the Treatise of Mr. J. S. entitled, Sure footing, &c. by John Tillotson D. D. to which is adjoynd, A Reply to Mr. J. S.'s third Appendix. &c. by Edward Stillingfleet. D. D.

A Letter to Mr. G. giving a true Account of a late Conference at the D. of P's.

A second Letter to Mr. G. in answer to two Letters lately published concerning the Conference at the D. of P's.

Veteres Vindicati: In an Expostulatory Letter to Mr. Slater of Putney, upon his Consensus Veterum, &c. wherein the absurdity of his Method, and the weakness of his Reasons are shewn; His false Aspersions upon the Church of England are wiped off, and her Faith concerning the Eucharist proved to be that of the primitive Church: Together with Animadversions on Dean Boileau's French translation of, and Remarks upon Bertram.

An Answer to the Compiler of Nubes Testium: Wherein is shewn, That Antiquity (in relation to the Points in Controversie set down by him) did not for the first five hundred Years Believe, Teach and Practice as the Church of Rome doth at present Believe, Teach and Practice; together with a Vindication of Veteres Vindicati from the late weak and dissingenuous Attempts of the Author of Transubstantiation Defended by the Author of the Answer to Mr. Slater of Putney.

A Letter to Father Lewis Sabran Jesuit, in answer to his Letter to a Peer of the Church of England; wherein the Postscript to the Answer to the Nubes Testium, is Vindicated, and Father Sabran's Mistakes farther discovered.

A second Letter to Father Lewis Sabran Jesuit, in Answer to his Reply.

A Vindication of the Principles of the Author of the Answer to the Compiler of Nubes Testium in answer to a late pretended Letter from a Dissenter to the Divines of the Church of England.

Scripture and Tradition Compared, in a Sermon preached at Guild-Hall-Chapel Nov. 27. 1687. by Edward Stillingfleet D. D. Dean of S. Paul's, the second Edition.

A Discourse concerning the Nature and Grounds of the Certainty of Faith, in Answer to J. S. his Catholick Letters. by Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. Dean of St. Paul's.

An Historical Examination of the Authority of General Councils, shewing the false Dealing that hath been used in the publishing of them, and the Difference amongst the Papists themselves about their Number. The second Edition with Corrections and Alterations.

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# APPENDIX,

*In Answer to some late Passages of J. W.  
of the Society of Jesus, concerning the  
Prohibition of Scripture in Vulgar  
Languages by the Council of Trent.*

**S**INCE the Publication of the foregoing Book, I have met with a Reflexion upon it made by J. W. in the Preface to a *Treatise* lately Reprinted by him. Wherein, he observes that a great part of the Objections made against them are either grounded on mistakes, or touch points of Discipline not of Faith, which alone they are bound to defend. This last Clause I could not but wonder at, since the new Title of his Book is, *A Defence of the Doctrine and Holy Rites of the Roman Catholick Church*, &c. Why should I W. take such needless pains to defend the Rites of the Church, if they are bound to defend nothing but Points of Faith? I had thought the Honour and Authority of the Church had been concerned in its Commands and Prohibitions, as well as in its

X

Definitions

Definitions and Decrees. And although it be not pretended; that the Church is Infallible in Matters of Discipline; yet it is a strong Prejudice against any pretence to Infallibility in a Church, if it be found to err notoriously in any thing of general Concernment to the *Catholick Church*.

But how comes my late Book to be made an Example? *As for instance, (saith he) I find in a Book newly Published, with this Title, The Council of Trent Examined and Disprov'd by Catholick Tradition, that for 15 Pages together Dr. St. labours to prove that there is no Catholick Tradition against Translating Scripture into Vulgar Languages.* Whereas I expressly say, that the *Prohibition* of reading the Scripture so translated without a particular License, was that which I undertook to shew could not be justified by any Catholick Tradition; And that there was a General Consent of the Catholick Church, not merely for the Translations of Scripture into Vulgar Languages, but for the free use of them by the People. Which I made out by these Particulars,

1. That where-ever the Christian Religion prevailed, the Scripture was Translated into the Vulgar Language for the Peoples benefit. Which I proved from the Ancient *Italick* Versions before St. *Jerom's* time, the *Gothick, Persian, Armenian, Syriack, Coptick* and *Æthiopick* Translations; without the least prohibition of the Common use of them.

2. That where a Language grew into Disuse among the People there the Scripture was Translated into the Tongue which was better understood. And for this I instanced in the *Arabick Versions* after the prevalency of

of the *Saracens* in the Eastern and Southern Parts, and after the *Moors* coming into *Spain*.

3. That even after the Primitive Times, Christian Princes and Bishops did take Care that the People should read the Scriptures in their own Language. For Princes, I instanced in *Ludovicus Pius* and *Alfred*; for Bishops, in *Waldo* Bishop of *Fressing*, *Methodius* and *Cyrril*, &c.

4. That the Pope himself in the 9th Century did approve of it; and for a Reason common to all times and Churches, *viz.* that *All People and Languages were to praise God, and that God himself had so commanded.*

5. That *Gregory VII.* was the first Person who forbade the use of Scripture and Divine Offices in the Vulgar Tongue, and was not ashamed to own that the Church saw cause to alter several things from what they were in the Primitive Church.

6. That upon the setting up the Inquisition by *Innocent III.* this Prohibition took place in *France* and *Spain*, and other Places.

7. That some noted Divines of the Church of *Rome* have highly commended it; and said that the taking of it away would be pernicious and destructive to Faith and Devotion.

8. That the Prohibition in the Church of *Rome* is built on the Authority of the Council of *Trent*, which appointed the *Index* to be made, in which the fourth Rule forbids all Persons the use of the Scripture in the Vulgar

Tongue without a particular License, and whosoever presumes to doe it is to be denied Absolution.

9. From hence it follows, that the *Council of Trent* is evidently disproved, as to *Catholick Tradition*, for any Foundation of such a *Prohibition*.

And what now saith *J. W.* against all this? *He would gladly know against whom I dispute.* Against *J. S.* and all such who would make the World believe the *Council of Trent* did proceed upon *Catholick Tradition*. To prove I am mistaken, he tells me in his 6th Chap. *I may find an Account of several new Translations of Scripture into Vulgar Tongues, made by Catholicks and approved in the Roman Church.* Then he mentions an *English Translation made by the Rhemish and Doway Colleges; and in French by the Doctours of Lovain; and some others.* What now follows from hence? Is it any *Mistake* in me to say, *There was such a Prohibition of Reading the Scripture in the Church of Rome, and enforced by the Rule made by Appointment of the Council of Trent?* This had been indeed to the purpose if it could have been proved. I do not deny, that there have been such *Translations* made, where it was found impossible to hinder all *Translations*; and the use of them have been connived at or allow'd to some particular persons, whom they were otherwise secure of. But such *Translations* are like the *Apothecaries* allowing some *Chymical Medicines* to their Patients; they declare against their use as dangerous; but if the Patient will have them, then pray take them of my *Apothecary*, who is a very honest man and prepares mischievous Medicines better than another. This is just the Case of the Church of *Rome*, as to *Translations of Scripture*; If we ask their Opinion in general, whether  
Translations



Translations be allowable or not, their Answer hath been formerly very free and open, by no means; for they are very dangerous and mischievous things. And here besides those I have already mentioned, I could produce many more to the same purpose. But alas! these men lived before the Age of *Mis-representing* and *Expounding*. Now all is *Mistake* on our side, and *Infallibility* on theirs. We cannot for our hearts understand their Doctrines or Practices aright, although we take never so much pains and care to doe it. One would think by the present way of dealing with us, that the Church of Rome were like the New Name on the White Stone, which no man knows *Apoc. 2. 17.* but he that hath it; and so it were impossible for any else to understand it, but such as are in it. I thought my self pretty secure from *Mistaking*, when I pitched on the Council of Trent for my Guide. But it seems, I am *mistaken* here too; How so? Did not the Council of Trent appoint the Congregation of the Index at first, *Sess. 18*? Did it not own that the Matters of it were prepared before its Dissolution? And if there were a *Prohibition* of the free use of the Scripture in Vulgar Languages by the Rules of the Index, is not the Council of Trent justly chargeable with that *Prohibition*? Especially when the Title in the Roman Edition is *Regule Indicis Sacrosanctæ Synodi Tridentinæ jussu editæ*.

Jacob. Ledesma was one of the same Society with J. W. and he frankly owns the *Prohibition* of reading the Scripture, made by the Rule of the Index, to have been done by the Authority of the Council of Trent.

Accedit ad hoc, locupletissimum Testimonium, atque Decretum ex Indice librorum prohibitorum per Patres à Tridentina Synodo delectos conscripto & Auctoritate Sanctiss. D. nostri Pii 4. P. M. comprobato Regula. 4. Jac. Ledesma. De Divin. Script. quavis lingua non legend. c. 52.

The Faculty at Paris in the Articles sent to Gregory XIII. against the Translation of *Rene Benoit*; several times

own

own the Rules of the *Index* as done by the Council of Trent. *Quacunq̃ Authoritate transferantur in Vulgarem linguam Biblia & edantur, vetat idem sacrosanctum Concilium ea passim sine discrimine permitti.*

The same *Ledefma* goes farther, and vouches the Authority of the Council of Trent in this matter, from the Decree *Sess. 23. c. 8.* where it forbids all the Parts of the *Mass* to be in the *Vulgar Tongue*. Which could not be reasonable, if the Scripture were allowed to be translated.

Alphonf. à  
Castro de hæ-  
ret. Punit.  
l. 3. c. 6.

*Alphonfus à Castro*, thinks the case so alike, that a prohibition of one amounts to a prohibition of the other too, because the greater Part of the Office is taken out of the Scriptures, and if the Scripture may be translated, he saith, it must follow that Divine Offices ought to be in the *vulgar Tongue*. But to return to the *Index*.

Concil. Trid.  
Sess. 25. c. 15.

The Congregation of the *Index* was (as is said) established by the Council in the 18. Session as the Council it self owns in the last Session; and withall, that the Rules of it were then formed, but because of the multiplicity and variety of the Books, the matter of the *Index* was referred to the Pope, and to be published by his Authority, as likewise the *Catechism*, *Missal* and *Breviary*. So that the Rules of the *Index* have the same Authority in the Church of Rome with the *Roman Catechism*, *Missal* and *Breviary*.

(a) Quod In-  
dice & Regu-  
lis confessio-  
nis Patres à Ge-  
nerali Synodo  
Tridentina de-  
lectos sanc-  
tum est—  
Præter ea quæ  
Tridentino-  
rum Patrum  
Regulis su-  
pradiſſis de-  
creta sunt.

*Pius IV.* in his Bull, when he first set forth the *Index* A. D. 1564. owns that it was finished by the Fathers appointed by the Council of Trent, but it was remitted to him by the Council, that it might be approved by him and published by his Authority. And he strictly commands the Rules of it to be observed under pain of Mortal Sin; and Excommunication, ipso jure. After him *Clement VIII.* in his (a) Instructions about the Rules of the *Index* owns them

them to be made by the *Fathers of the Council of Trent*, And the same Pope is so far from renewing the Power of granting Licenses to read the Scripture in the vulgar Languages, that he declares against them. For by the 4th Rule of the Index, the Ordinary and Inquisitor by the Advice of the Parish Priest or Confessor might permit Persons to read the Bible in the vulgar Language, so the Translation were made by Catholick Authours; and it was apprehended by some, that the new Printing the Rule might be giving new Authority to Bishops and Inquisitors to grant Licenses, therefore the Pope declares against it; and saith it was contrary to the Command and use of the Roman Church and Inquisition, which ought to be inviolably observed. In pursuance of this we find in the Roman Index of prohibited Books, these words, *Biblia vulgari quocunque idiomate conscripta*; i. e. *All Bibles in vulgar Languages are prohibited*. Therefore I cannot understand how the giving License to Persons since the Declaration of *Clemens VIII.* is consistent with the Duty which Persons of that Communion owe to the Authority of the Roman See, unless they can produce a Revocation of the Bull of *Clemens VIII.* and some latter Explications of the fourth Rule which take away the force of his. But instead of that, *Alexander VII.* who published the Index again, after *Clement VIII.* owns that the first Index was made by Authority of the Council of Trent: and it is observable that in his Bull A. D. 1664. he not only prefixes the Rules of the Index, but the Observations and Instruction of *Clement VIII.* and confirms all by his Apostolical authority; and enjoyns the punctual Observation of the Orders contained therein inviolably; under the same pains which were expressed in the Bull of *Pius IV.* Therefore as far as I can understand, the Faculty

*Qui sacrosan-  
ti Concilii  
Tridentini  
auctoritate  
prodierat.*

culty of granting Licenses to read the Translations of the Bible is taken away as far as the Pope's authority can doe it.

To what purpose then are we told of some *modern Translations*, as long as the use of them is forbidden by the Pope's Authority? And no Ordinaries can have Authority to grant Licenses against the Popes solemn Declaration to the contrary; nor can any of that Communion with good Conscience make use of them.

But I am told *there are Translations approved in the Roman Church*. By whom have they been approved? By the Pope, or the *Congregation of the Index*? I do not find any such Approbation given to any of them. But on the contrary even in *France*, such *Translations* have been vehemently opposed by the Bishops and Divines there, as being repugnant to the Sense of the *Roman Church*. And this is apparent by a Book published by Order of the *Gallican Clergy*, A. D. 1661. Where-

*E quibus pateat fuisse semper communem & unanimum Orthodoxorum omnium sensum ac usum; divinos Libros ac Officia Ecclesiastica, vernaculo Idiomate neutsquam reddendi; utpote Christiana Reipubl. damnosum, ac rudibus & imperitiu scandalosi occasionem præbens. Collectio Auctorum Version. vulg. damnant. Monit. ad Lector.*

in it is said *that it was the common and unanimous Sense and Practice of all Orthodox Persons, that neither the Scriptures nor divine Offices ought to be put into Vulgar Languages, it being injurious to the Christian Church, and giving Occasion of Offence to the weak and unlearned*. How then can we imagine that such *Translations* should not onely be allowed but *approved* among them?

And besides the entire Treatises there collected against them, of *Card. Hosius*, *Lizetius*, *Spiritus Roterus*, *Ledesma*, &c. and the Fragments and Testimonies of several others; we have a particular account of the proceedings of the *Sorbon* as to this matter.

In the *Censure of Erasmus*, Dec. 17. 1527. the Sorbon declared *Vulgar Translations of Scripture to be dangerous and pernicious.*

The like Declaration had been made before A.D. 1525. and that all Translations of the Bible, or of the Parts thereof ought rather to be suppressed than tolerated.

A. D. 1607. The Faculty again declared, that it did not approve any Translations of Scripture into the *Vulgar Language.*

But *J. W.* instances p. 26. in some Translations that have been approved; as a French Translation by the Doctors of Lovain. But in the French Collection before mention'd, I find, that A. D. 1620. Dec. 1. a debate arose in the Faculty at Lovain about it; and the Faculty declared that it by no means approved of it.

Another is of *Rene Benoit*; which was so far from being approved, that it was first condemned by the Faculty at Paris, and then sent to Rome to be condemned by the Pope; which was effectually done; and *Gregory XIII.* directed his Bull to the Faculty of Divinity in Paris, Nov. 3. A. D. 1575. wherein he doth expressly forbid this Translation, and reject it with an *Anathema.*

*Biblia supradicta omnino prohibemus, & ab Ecclesia Catholica sub Anathemate rejicimus.*

And yet this very Translation of *Rene Benoit* is one of those made by *Catholicks* and approved in the *Roman Church*; which *J. W.* refers me to. One of us two must needs be under a great Mistake, but to whom it belongs I leave the Reader to determin.

The sense of the *Gallican Clergy* in this matter doth fully appear by the Representation which they sent to *Alexander VII.* about the Translation of the *Missal* into French. Which was done by *Voisin* a Doctor of the Faculty,

culty, and was published at *Paris* by the Permission of *Cardinal de Retz* Archbishop there, and had the Approbation of some Doctours of the *Sorbon*. The rest of the Bishops and Clergy highly resented this matter, and Assembled together to consult about it, *Nov. 29. 1660.* where they proposed two things to be considered. 1. The matter of Right, whether such a Translation were to be permitted or not. 2. The matter of Fact, whether this were a good Translation or not. The debate was adjourned to *Dec. 3.* and from thence to the 7th on which they came to a Resolution to suppress it. And a Circular Letter was sent to all the Bishops to forbid the use of it under pain of Excommunication; and the King desired to interpose his Authority in it. *Dec. 9.* they agreed to send an account of the whole matter to the Pope in the name of the *Gallican Clergy*; wherein they declare their great dislike of it, as contrary to the Custom

*Illam omnino improbamus tanquam ab Ecclesia consuetudine alienam, nec nisi cum ingenti animarum perniciæ conjunctam.*

of the Church, and as pernicious to the Souls of Men. And in the Body of it, they say that they look on the Translations of Scripture into vulgar Languages as the great occasion of the Northern Heresies; and quote *Vincentius Lerinenſis*, saying that the Scripture is the Book of Hereticks. And after add, that they had sent to the Pope their Condemnation of all Translations of Scripture and Divine Offices into the Vulgar Languages. This was subscribed by the General Assembly of the Clergy, *Jan. 7. 1661.*

The Pope sent a Brief in Answer, which was received *Feb. 25.* wherein he very Tragically complains that some Sons of Perdition in France had to the ruine of Souls, and in Contempt of the Churches Laws and Practice, arrived to that degree of madneſs as to translate the Roman Miſſal



*sal into French.* And he charges the doing of it not only with *Novelty*, but *Disobedience*, *Sedition*, *Schism*, &c. and declares that he abhorred and detested it; and for ever damned, reprobated and forbad it, under pain of *Excommunication*; and requires all Persons to deliver up their Books to the several Ordinaries that they might be burnt.

I now desire *J. W.* to inform me whether we are bound to believe that in *France Translations of Scripture into the vulgar Language are allowed and approved?* I am really so unwilling to *mistake*, that I take the best care I can to be rightly informed. I have no design either to deceive others, or to be deceived my self; and therefore have not trusted to second-hand Evidence; but searched and considered the Authours themselves, whose Testimonies I rely upon. I am certain I have fallen into no wilfull mistake, but have truly and impartially stated things according to the clearest Evidence I could find; and therefore I think it some what hard to be told, *that our Objections are grounded on Mistakes*, and especially as to this matter about the *Prohibition of reading Scripture in the Vulgar Language*; for I hope I have made it appear not onely that there is such a *Prohibition* but that it is founded on the *Authority of the Council of Trent*.

And if it be so, then it serves my main design, *viz.* to prove that it went off from *Catholick Tradition*, for if there were so many Translations of old without the least prohibition, and there be since the *Council of Trent*, so severe a one, backed with the Pope's Authority, here must be a very great change in *Tradition*. For that is accounted *pernicious and mischievous to the Souls of men*, which before was accounted usefull and beneficial to them. If the Physicians in one Age should

condemn the common Reading of *Hippocrates* and *Galen* as destructive to the Health of mens bodies, which those of former Ages extremely commended, would not any one say, there was a great Change in the Opinions of Physicians, and that they did by no means hold to the Judgment of those before them? If the common Lawyers should now say *Littleton's Tenures* is a Book very unfit to be read by young Lawyers, that it fills their heads with seditious and dangerous Principles, and therefore ought to be taken out of their hands; would not any one say, here is a wonderful Change, for no such thing was ever apprehended before, but the Book was thought very usefull and proper to instruct Students in some fundamental Points of the Law?

When *Manna* was rained from Heaven in the Wilderness for 40. years, and for 30. of them every man gathered his own share and proportion, and ate of it as he saw cause; would it not have been thought a strange alteration among them, if after 30. years a sett of Physicians should have risen up and told the People "it was true, *Manna* was Angels food, but if "they had not great care in the taking it, and used "it promiscuously, it would turn them to Devils; or "at least it would fill them with such distempers, as "they would never be able to reach to *Canaan*? This might be pretended to be great Care and Tenderness of them, in these new Physicians; but on the other side, they would tell them, "they had done very well with "their eating *Manna* for 30. years together; and there "had been no such distempers among them, but such "as humane nature is always subject to; that such an alteration might be of worse Consequence than their  
" common

“ common use of Manna; for so it was at first appointed and so it had continued, and they could not tell but their new Physicians might be worse to them than their old distempers; and they could never believe that could be so hurtfull which God himself had appointed for their food.

The former Discourse makes the Application needless.

But after all, it is said: *This is but a point of Discipline and not of Faith; and in such the Church may change her Measures.* To that I answer,

1. It is more than a point of Discipline, for it is changing the *Rule of Faith* with respect to the People. While the Scriptures were in the hands of the People, they resolved their Faith into the *Word of God*, as it was delivered to them and understood by them. But when that is taken out of their hands and they are bid to Trust to the *Churches Testimony* for matters of Faith; they have a different Resolution of their Faith and a different Ground and Reason of believing. For they cannot ground their Faith upon a written Rule who are incapable of understanding it.

2. It is no matter of Discipline to overthrow the design of publishing the Scripture for the universal Benefit of the Church of God. And this the *Jansenists* have well proved in Defence of their Translation of the New Testament against the Prohibitions of it. “ For, say they, the Prohibition of reading the Scripture under pain of Excommunication, is it self  
“ contrary to the Gospel and ought not to be obey’d. *Dialogue 3. P. 26. 29.*  
“ For Bread and nourishment is not more necessary  
to

P. 63.

" to preserve the Life of the Body, than the Word of  
 " God is to uphold the Life of the Soul. That for  
 " men to speak of so much danger in reading the  
 " Scripture is to reflect very dishonourably on the  
 " Providence and Goodness of God; for it was  
 " by means of Translations in Vulgar Languages that  
 " God's Word came to be known to the World, and  
 " the Gospel was at first published in those Tongues,  
 " which were most generally understood. And there-  
 " fore those do manifestly oppose the design and me-  
 " thod of Providence for advancing the Gospel, who  
 " decry Translations of Scripture, as pernicious to  
 " the Souls of Men. And farther, that such a pro-  
 " hibition, is a Contempt of our Lord Jesus Christ  
 " and a design to suppress the Gospel; and a Con-  
 " tradiction to the Will and Command of God; A  
 " Contempt of the Scripture, which was intended to be  
 " understood by all, A Contempt both of Councils and  
 " Fathers, which looked on the Scripture as the best  
 " Judge of Controversies, and who advised all be-  
 " lievers to a continual reading of the Word of God.

If after all this, the *Council of Trent* could so no-  
 toriously err not onely against *Scripture* and *Reason*,  
 but *Tradition* too in such a Matter of Concernment to  
 the Souls of Men, as this is, it will be hardly possible  
 to persuade Men, it could not as well err in any Point  
 of Faith. And it renders the whole proceeding suspi-  
 cious as to particular Points, when the *Rule of Faith*  
 is so industriously kept out of the hands of the People.  
 For those who follow their Instructions, are never a-  
 shamed to produce their Credentials.

Dialogues in  
 Answer to  
 T. G.  
 Part. 4.

As to what *J. W.* saith in his Book concerning *Ju-*  
*piter*, &c. I had answered it so fully many years since,  
 that

that I have Reason to expect a Reply to what I had there said in my own Vindication, before I can think it fit to trouble the World with needless Repetitions. And it were hard for me to be put to Answer again to the same things, when a Person will not take the pains to see whether he were not Answer'd already.

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*T H E E N D.*

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